THE CŌḶAS

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CHAPTER XIII

KULŌTTUNGA I A.D. 1070-1120

A new epoch.

The accession of Kulōttunga I marks the commencement of a new era in the history of the Cōḷa empire. At the end of nearly a century of dubious subordination to the Cōḷa empire, the kingdom of Vengi now became definitely a province of the empire resuscitated by its own ruler. After Kulōttunga became Cōḷa emperor, Vengi was ruled successively by his sons as viceroys, and this added greatly to the strength of the Cōḷa empire by shutting the door against the intrigues of the Western Cāḷukyas in that quarter. The first Cāḷukya-Cōḷa emperor soon overcame the troubles that threatened at his accession to bring about the collapse of the empire, and after establishing himself on his new throne, he had a long reign characterised, for the best part of it, by unparalleled success and prosperity. He avoided unnecessary wars and evinced a true regard for the well-being of his subjects. The permanent results of his policy are seen in the reigns of his successors. For about a century, until we reach the time of Kulōttunga III, the empire, though not so extensive as before, still holds well together, and there is on the whole less of the chronic warfare of the age which preceded the accession of Kulōttunga. The impossible attempt to extend the empire across the Tungabhadrā frontier into Raṭṭapāḍi is definitely given up by Kulōttunga I, and he even puts up with some loss

of territory in the Mysore country consequent on the rise of the Hoysalas about the close of his reign. And the loss of Vengi, though serious, was only temporary, as his successors recovered most of it. The wisdom of Kulōttunga's statesmanship lay in adjusting his aims to his resources, in his not forsaking the possible good in the pursuit of the impossible better, and in his preferring the well-being of his subjects to the satisfaction of his personal vanity. He ensured for his subjects a century of peace and good government.

Historical introductions.

Kulōttunga's reign began approximately on the 9th June 1070 A.D.[1] As he ruled for fifty years thereafter,[2] he must have been a young man at his accession. The asterism of his birth was Puṣya.[3] The numerous inscriptions of this long reign contain several *praśastis,* each with some variant forms. In the first four years the most common *praśasti* is the one commencing *tiru manni viḷaṅga* or *vaḷara* which records the achievements of Kulōttunga (here called Rājēndra) before he came to the Cōḷa throne. These events have been discussed already in relation to the problem of his accession. The latest records containing this early *praśasti* are dated in the fourth year. The same events are also narrated in different words in another *praśasti* known so far only from one record of the sixth year at Tirukkōvalūr and commencing *pū mēl arivaiyum.*[4] Yet another *praśasti,*

[1] *EI.* vii, p. 7, n. 5.

[2] *EI.* iv, p. 227; 520 of 1920; 139 of 1902. A record of year 52 is given in the *Pudukkōṭṭai Inscriptions* No. 127.

[3] 45 of 1921, *ARE.* 1929, II, 33.

[4] 125 of 1900.

briefer and of far less historical value, also occurring in these four years, is that commencing *pūmiyum tiruvum*, of which we have an expanded form in the rare introduction beginning *pū maruviya tirumaḍandaiyum.*[5] The two most common forms of the *praśastis* of the reign are the short introduction commencing *pugaḻ-mādu viḷanga* which begins to appear in the fourth year[6] and the longer one commencing *pugaḻ śuḻnda puṇari* appearing for the first time in the fifth regnal year.[7] Of these it is the latter *praśasti* that is most helpful to the historian on account of the revisions undergone by it as the reign advances. Other *praśastis* are: *pū mēvi vaḷara* appearing in the ninth year,[8] *pū mādu vaḷara* in the year after that,[9] *tirumagaḷ jayamagaḷ* in the twelfth year,[10] and possibly also *pū mādu puṇara* in a mutilated inscription[11] of which the date is lost. We must also take account of the double introduction, *vīramē tuṇai* followed by *pugaḻ mādu viḷanga,* which couples a *praśasti* of Vīrarājēndra with that of Kulōttunga and to which attention has been drawn already. This introduction is found as early as the fifth year in an inscription from Tribhuvani which also gives the

[5] 425 of 1912.

[6] 468 of 1913.

[7] *SII.* iii, 68, 69 etc. It must be noticed that this *praśasti* opens with a reference to the youthful achievements of Kulōttunga followed by a rhetorical eulogium, of no historical value. I think this part ends with the phrase: *tan pon-nagar-puṟattiḍaik-kiḍappa.*

[8] 57 of 1898.

[9] 124 of 1928.

[10] 231 of 1912.

[11] 365 of 1928.

Tribhuvanacakravartin title of Kulōttunga.[12] It is seen from the inscriptions of the reign now accessible to us that the titles Kulōttunga and Cakravartin were also assumed by the emperor much earlier in his reign than was once thought.

Early wars.

Of the early wars fought by Kulōttunga in his youth (*iḷangōp-paruvam*), some account has been given in discussing his position between 1063 and 1070 A.D. It has been pointed out that he levied tribute from the Nāgavaṁśi ruler Dhārāvarṣa and possibly also carved out for himself a separate and independent principality in that quarter. The first few lines of the *praśasti* beginning *pugaḻ śūḻnda puṇari* refer to the same events and add that by the strength of his arm he routed an army of the king of Kuntala,[13] and thus donned the garland of victory in the North before he turned his attention to the South. This war with the king of Kuntala, doubtless the Western Cāḷukya king, waged before 1070 A.D., was part of Kulōttunga's activity in the region of the modern Bastar state, and the circumstances that led to this conflict are the same as those recorded in some of the later inscriptions of Vīrarājēndra and in Bilhaṇa's account of Vikramāditya's *digvijaya* in so far as it relates to Vengi and Cakrakūṭa. After Sōmēśvara I failed to turn up

[12] 197 of 1919. Hultzsch did not know of any inscription earlier than the twentieth year giving the Tribhuvanacakravartin title. *SII*. iii, p. 131. It may also be noted that the earliest record certainly giving the titles Cakravartin and Kulōttunga is 468 of 1913 (of the fourth year) with the *pugaḻ mādu viḷanga* introduction.

[13] *SII*. iii, pp. 142, 146. R. D. Banerji has strangely misunderstood the early inscriptions of Kulōttunga and cited them as proving that Kulōttunga defeated Lakṣma-dēva of Māḷava in Cakrakūṭa (*Haihayas of Tripuri*, p. 25).

for the second encounter fixed to take place at Kūḍal-Sangama, Vīrarājēndra threw down a challenge to the Vallabha (Cāḷukya), proceeded to recover Vengi, and after the victory of Bezwada, bestowed that kingdom once more on Vijayāditya VII. These data corroborate Bilhaṇa's statements that in his war-like career as *yuvarāja* Vikramāditya had conquered Vengi and Cakrakūṭa, and was encamping on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā when the news of his father's illness and death reached him. The *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*[14] also implies that Vikramāditya fought against Kulōttunga in the north at this time and that it was in this war that Kulōttunga earned the title *Virudarājabhayankara*, i.e. terror to Virudarāja or Vikramāditya. These events took place in 1067 A.D. And now it becomes clear from Kulōttunga's *praśasti* that his northern adventure might have helped Vīrarājēndra in the war against Vikramāditya. Whether this means that Kulōttunga, on his own account, repulsed Vikramāditya's attack on Cakrakūṭa, or whether we may infer further that Kulōttunga co-operated with Vīrarājēndra and was present at the battle of Bezwada, it is not easy to decide. In any case, the effective assistance of Kulōttunga in the release of Vengi from the Western Cāḷukya hold shows that Kulōttunga might have been on friendly relations with Vīrarājēndra and kept up a live interest in the affairs of the Vengi and Cōḷa kingdoms. That, as a result of the wars, the kingdom of Vengi was restored to Vijayāditya gives us the measure of the truth of Kulōttunga's statement made later to his son Rājarāja

[14] x. v. 25.

that in his youth he preferred a life of war and adventure and so left the kingdom of Vengi to be ruled by his uncle Vijayāditya. It is probable that this exile was not altogether voluntary and was in the first instance brought about by the hostile ambitions of Vijayāditya.[15]

Accession to the Cōḷa throne.

The death of Vīrarājēndra after he had made his peace with Vikramāditya VI, the accession of Adhirājēndra, and the revolution in the Cōḷa country that was arrested for a time by Vikramāditya's intercession, but, after the retirement of Vikramāditya to the Tungabhadrā, ran its full course and ended fatally for Adhirājēndra, gave Kulōttunga the opportunity to make himself master of the Cōḷa kingdom. The theory of a civil war between Adhirājēndra and Kulōttunga that has sometimes been put forward[16] gets no support from the inscriptions, and appears highly improbable. There is likewise no warrant for the view that Kulōttunga at first gained control of a part of the Cōḷa kingdom and became master of the whole of it only at the end of four or five years of fighting,[17] or that he killed many princes of the blood to clear his way to the throne.[18] The inscriptions of Kulōttunga, however, agree with the *Kalingattupparaṇi* in stating that his advent to the South rescued the Cōḷa country from a state of anarchy and dissolution, and restored unity and order in that land. The inscriptions say: "In the South, he put on

[15] See *ante*, Ch. xii.
[16] *ARE*. 1904, paragraph 21.
[17] *SII*. iii, p. 132. *ARE*. 1904, paragraph 21.
[18] *ARE*. 1899, paragraph 51.

the pure jewelled crown by right so as to put an end to the commonness of the goddess[19] of the sweet smelling lotus-flower (Lakṣmī) and the loneliness of the good earth-maiden who had the Ponni (Kāvēri) for her garment.'' There is not the slightest suggestion here of any opposition encountered by Kulōttunga in the Cōḷa country; rather his advent is said to have been quite welcome, if not actually sought after. Writing some years later, when Kulōttunga had, by his wise and strong rule, secured for the people of the empire several years of continued peace and prosperity, Jayangoṇḍār draws in deeper colours his picture of the anarchy that preceded the advent of Kulōttunga:[20]

''Brahmanical sacrifices were given up; the path of Manu was totally deserted; the six sciences were forgotten and the chanting of the Vedas ceased.

''The castes mixed one with another in wild confusion; none keeping to their prescribed paths of duty, (the code of proper) conduct was forgotten.

''Each sought to tyrannise the others, the temples of the gods were neglected; women lost their chastity; and fortresses fell into ruin.

''While the darkness of Kali was thus spreading, he (Abhaya) came to the rescue of the world, like the sun rising above the roaring sea and driving away darkness.

''He made it his duty to create afresh all the safeguards (for the people), he restored all the (old) rules and again established the earth on the proper path.

''Amidst the roar of the four oceans and the chanting of the four Vedas, and the blessings of the three worlds, he was anointed.''

[19] See *ante*, Ch. xii, p. 358 n.

[20] *Kalingattupparaṇi*, x, vv. 27-32. *IA.* xix, p. 332.

We may recognise a substratum of fact beneath the exaggerations of this conventional picture of anarchy. Though the true course of events is obscure, and the hypothesis of religious persecution leading to a political revolution rests on vague and confused tradition, it is clear that the prospect was gloomy indeed when Kulōttunga came to rule over the Cōḷa dominion. War and rebellion had raised their heads, and the southern portions of the empire including Ceylon had proclaimed their independence. Kulōttunga devoted the first few years of his reign to deal with these troubles.

War with Vikramāditya.

(The first enemy to be dealt with was the Western Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI,) who now found that all his efforts to extend his power to Vengi had proved futile, and what was worse, that Vengi became more closely united than ever to the hostile power of the Cōḷas. Vikramāditya was therefore sure to oppose Kulōttunga's accession and lead an expedition against him. Kulōttunga lost no time in strengthening himself by fresh alliances. There was no love lost between Vikramāditya and his elder brother Sōmēśvara II, who had been compelled by Vīrarājēndra to part with some of his territory to Vikramāditya,[21] and it was obvious that Kulōttunga could make a successful appeal to Sōmēśvara for assistance in the war against his brother; and that was what he did. Says Bilhaṇa :[22]

"After the lapse of only a few days, when the Cōḷa's son (Adhirājēndra) was slain in a rebellion of his subjects, the lord

[21] *Ante*, i, p. 334.
[22] vi, 26-27; 38-9; 54.

of Vengi, Rājiga by name, took possesion of his throne by the concurrence of fortune. This crooked-minded man suspected danger from him (Vikramāditya), and in order to create a diversion in his rear, he put himself straight with Sōmadēva, his (Vikramāditya's) natural enemy.....What has this noble-minded (Vikramāditya) done to his elder brother, that the latter should, with intent to injure him, enter into a compact with their family foe, the Cōḷa Rājiga? When the king's son (Vikramāditya) started on his expedition for the chastisement of the impolitic Rājiga, Sōmadēva pursued him quickly at the back with his entire forces...... When the mass of the Draviḍa army drew near the liberal-handed prince (Vikramāditya), this king (Sōmēśvara) also approached, having gained at last an opportunity of injuring (him)."[23]

Vikramāditya was also very ably assisted in the campaign by a number of his allies and vassals. The Yādava king of Dēvagiri helped him as an ally.[24] Among the vassals present with Vikramāditya were the Hoysala Eṟeyanga[25] and Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya[26] besides the Kadamba Jayakēśi, already mentioned as the ally of Vikramāditya.

Bilhaṇa's account.

According to Bilhaṇa's account, at the end of a hard contest in which the armies of Sōmēśvara and Kulōttunga engaged the forces of Vikrama, "the

[23] Bühler has rightly exposed the hollowness of the moralisings of Bilhaṇa and pointed out that far from being a victim of destiny, as Bilhaṇa wishes to make out, Vikrama designedly used his superior talents to oust his weaker brother. Vikrama, who married a Cōḷa princess in order to be able to deprive his brother of a good part of his inheritance, could not well object to Sōmēśvara's political alliance with Kulōttunga. Bühler's *Vikramānkadēvacarita*, pp. 36-8 and nn. Fleet was the first to recognise that Rājiga is a familiar form of Rājēndra, the earlier name of Kulōttunga. *IA*. xx, pp. 276 and 282. See also *BG*. I, ii, p. 445.

[24] *BG*. I, ii, p. 234.

[25] *EC*. v. Ak. 102 (a) says that by order of the Cāḷukya Cakravarti he caused the Cōla king to wear leaves: *Cōḷikar aṇṇaleyam taḷiram uḍisi*. Also vii, Sh. 64.

[26] *EC*. vii, Ci. 33 calls him *(Rā)jiga-Cōḷa-manōbhanga*, and says, perhaps with exaggeration, that he was ruling Nuḷambavāḍi 32000.

Draviḍa lord fled the field and Sōmadēva entered the prison".[27] Vikrama then retired to the Tungabhadrā. He intended to restore his captive brother to liberty and to the throne, but, as on the eve of the battle, Śiva interposed a second time in a dream and commanded Vikrama to assume the sovereignty himself,[28] and he did so. He also made his younger brother Jayasimha viceroy at Banavāse.[29] After some further expeditions and conquests, of which no details are forthcoming, and after once more extinguishing the valour of the Cōḷa,[30] he duly entered his capital Kalyāṇa.

Cōḷa version.

As may be expected, the account of the campaign found in Cōḷa inscriptions differs in many details and in the result of the fight; the subsequent course of events shows, however, that this version is on the whole nearer the truth than the *kāvya* of Bilhaṇa.

"Not only did the speech (of Vikkalan)—'After this day a permanent blemish (will attach to Kulōttunga), as to the crescent (which is the origin) of (his) family'—turn out wrong, but the bow (in) the hand of Vikkalan was not (even) bent against (the enemy).[31] Everywhere from Nangili of rocky roads—with Maṇalūr in the middle—to the Tungabhadrā, there were lying low the dead (bodies of his) furious elephants, his lost pride and (his) boasted valour. The very mountains which he ascended

[27] vi 90.

[28] See Bühler's remarks cited in a previous note.

[29] vi 99, xiv, 4.

[30] *nirvāpya Cōḷasya punaḥ pratāpam kramēṇa Kalyāṇam asau viveśa*, vii 2.

[31] The pun on the verb *kōḍutal* in the original is untranslatable. I follow Hultzsch's translation (*SII.* iii, p. 147) with slight changes. 177 of 1919, year (6), and 5 of 1914 (year 8) seem to be among the earliest inscriptions giving this version of the events.

bent their backs, the very rivers into which (he) descended eddied and breached (the banks) in their course: (and) the very seas into which he plunged became troubled and agitated. (The Cōḷa king) seized simultaneously the two countries (*pāṇi*) called Gangamaṇḍalam and Śinganam, troops of furious elephants which had been irretrievably abandoned (by the enemy), crowds of women with beautiful lustrous eyes, the goddess of fame who gladly brought disgrace (on Vikkalan), and the great goddess of victory who changed to the opposite side and caused (Vikkalan) himself and his father, who were desirous of the rule over the western region, to turn their backs again and again on many days."

Some earlier versions of these incidents substitute the general phrase *Vēḷkulattaraśar* or *Vēḷpulattaraśu* i.e. the Cāḷukyan king or kings, for Vikkalan, and the specific place-name Aḷatti for the region from Nangili to Tungabhadrā.[32]

Date.

The earliest allusion to this war traceable in the inscriptions of the reign occurs in the words: "Vikkalan and Śinganan plunging into the western sea", found in the *pugaḻ mādu* introduction for the first time in the seventh year.[33] The actual fight with Vikramāditya took place, therefore, some years after Kulōttunga's reign began and not, as Bilhaṇa's narrative implies, immediately after his accession. This is also borne out by Cāḷukya inscriptions which place these occurrences in the expired Śaka year 998, or A.D. 1076.[34] The interval of five or six years was doubtless employed by both sides in preparations, diplomatic and military, for the coming

[32] *SII*. iii, 73; 5 of 1914; 178 of 1919.
[33] 401 of 1896.
[34] *BG*. I, ii, p. 217.

fight. For Vikramāditya would not acquiesce without a struggle in the permanent union of Vengi and Cōḷa in the same hands, and Kulōttunga knew this very well.

Course and results of the war.

The war began with an advance of Vikramāditya into the Cōḷa territory till he encountered the Cōḷa army in the Kōlār district, whence, if the Cōḷa inscriptions may be trusted, Vikramāditya was pursued by the Cōḷa forces, through Maṇalūr,[35] not identified, up to the banks of the Tungabhadrā ; and there was heavy fighting all along the road. In the result, the Cōḷa ruler, besides capturing much valuable booty, became master of the Ganga-maṇḍalam and Śingaṇam. The identity of Śingaṇam is doubtful ; Hultzsch suggested that it means the dominions of Jayasimha III:[36] but the territory ruled over by Jayasimha III was Banavāse and not only is there no evidence of the present campaign having extended to that country, but Bilhaṇa says that Vikramāditya made his brother Jayasimha ruler of Banavāse at the end of the war with Kulōttunga, and that Jayasimha was still in charge of that territory some years later when he revolted against his brother and sought the assistance of Kulōttunga. It is probable, however, that before the war began, Jayasimha was in charge of some territory to the south and east of the Tungabhadrā. Kulōttunga's claim that, as a result of the war, he found himself in possession of a considerable part of the Mysore country is borne out by the provenance of his inscriptions, and Bilhaṇa's

[35] A pitched battle seems to have been fought there. *Kalingattup-paraṇi*, xiii, 62.

[36] *SII.* iii, p. 144.

statement that Kulōttunga fled from the battlefield is not to be trusted. The *Kalingattupparaṇi*[37] mentions some of the incidents of this war such as the fights at Aḷatti and Maṇalūr, and the capture of elephants in Navilai, possibly the same as Navilē-nāḍ of the Mysore inscriptions.[38] The *Vikramaśōḻan-ulā* states that Kulōttunga reached the Western sea, and captured Konkaṇa and Kannaḍa countries and humbled the pride of the Mahratha king—a statement which implies that even Banavāse might have been overrun, though perhaps only for a time. The worst sufferer was Sōmēśvara II, who fell into the hands of his brother as a prisoner and thus lost his kingdom. What ultimately became of him is not known.[39]

Revolt of Jayasimha.

Bilhaṇa says that Jayasimha, the newly appointed viceroy of Banavāse, contemplated treason against his brother Vikramāditya, within a year after his appointment, and that he sought the aid of Kulōttunga in his attempted revolt.[40] It is not necessary to pursue the story of this rebellion here; for Bilhaṇa's account makes it clear that Kulōttunga took little or no part in the civil war that followed. This was obviously because he had more important affairs claiming his attention. Vikramāditya, thus left free to deal with the rebellion, suppressed it without any difficulty, and, as we shall see, soon began to add to the troubles of Kulōttunga by establishing

[37] xi, vv. 74, 75; xiii, 62.
[38] *EI*. vi, pp. 69, 214-5.
[39] *BG*. I, ii, p. 445.
[40] xiv—vv. 1-13.

friendly relations with his enemies. Soon after Vijayabāhu proclaimed himself ruler of the whole of Ceylon after his expulsion of the Cōḷas from the northern half of the island, Vikramāditya sent him a friendly embassy with rich presents.[41] In fact, throughout his long reign Vikramāditya was untiring in the pursuit of his design against Kulōttunga in all possible quarters. But Bilhaṇa's rhapsodic account of a final expedition against Kāñcī for the exercise of his hero's arms itching for a fight in the absence of suitable foes,[42] can hardly be accepted as true.

'oreign invasion in Vēngī.

While Kulōttunga was settling his affairs in the south, the kingdom of Vengi in the north was invaded by Yaśaḥkarṇadēva, the Haihaya ruler of Tripurī. In his inscriptions, dating from 1072-3 A.D., this king claims to have easily overcome the strong ruler of the Andhra country and to have propitiated Bhagavān Bhīmēśvara of Drākṣārāma with presents of many costly jewels.[43] The Andhra ruler mentioned was no doubt Vijayāditya VII. Yaśaḥkarṇa's inroad does not seem to have had any consequences, military or political, worth mentioning. And there is no proof that it was in any manner connected with the designs of the Western Cāḷukyas or of Vijayāditya VII, as has sometimes been assumed.[44]

[41] *CV.* ch. 60, v. 24, Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 57.

[42] xvii, vv. 43 ff.; cf. *BG.* I, ii, pp. 452-3.

[43] *EI.* xii, pp. 208 ff. R. D. Banerji (*Haihayas of Tripuri*, p. 26) identifies the Andhra king with one of the sons of Kulōttunga. This is clearly wrong.

[44] *JAHRS.* v. pp. 208-9..

Pāṇḍyan and Ceylonese affairs.

At the close of his war with Vikramāditya VI, Kulōttunga turned his attention to the South. The Pāṇḍya country was never reconciled to the imposition of Cōḷa overlordship, and its rulers had always been a source of trouble to the most powerful Cōḷa emperors. The period of confusion that followed the death of Vīrarājēndra, the popular rebellion against his successor Adhirājēndra, and the hard struggle forced on Kulōttunga in the early years of his reign by the policy of Vikramāditya VI, provided a golden opportunity to the kingdoms of the south to reassert their independence. The administrative arrangements made by the Cōḷas in these lands went to pieces, and the native rulers of the countries began to rule in their own right as their inscriptions show.[45] The most sustained efforts of Kulōttunga resulted in the reconquest of the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries between the seventh and eleventh years of his reign, but Ceylon permanently disappeared from the Cōḷa empire. Some account may be given of the establishment of Ceylonese independence before the story of the reconquest of the South is taken up.

Ceylon.

We have seen that before the accession of Vīrarājēndra, the Singalese prince Kitti freed Rohaṇa of enemies and, in 1058, assumed the title Vijayabāhu in his seventeenth year.[46] Cōḷa rule was thereafter confined to the northern part of the island known as Rājarattha. The latest Cōḷa inscription found at Polonnaruwa is dated 1070 A.D.,

[45] *PK.* pp. 118 ff.

[46] *Ante*, i, pp. 303, 332.

the third and last year of the reign of Adhirājēndra. The disappearance of Cōḷa power from Rājarattha is clearly narrated in the *Mahāvamsa.* The chronicle does not give exact dates for all the transactions recorded; but it says definitely that Vijayabāhu I entered Anurādhapura in the fifteenth year of his Rohaṇa rule and thirty-third of his life, in 1073 A.D. and that two years later, there took place his coronation as ruler of all Ceylon.[47] This is in perfect accord with what we know otherwise of the first five years of Kulōttunga's reign and with the absence of any Cōḷa inscription of Kulōttunga's reign in Ceylon. The *Mahāvamsa* says[48] that the successful efforts of Vijayabāhu to liberate Ceylon from the Cōḷas began in the twelfth year of his reign, A.D. 1070. He took up his abode in the fortress on the Paluttha mountain, round which 'a terrible fight between the two armies took place'. The Damiḷa army was put to flight, and in the pursuit that followed, the Cōḷa general was captured and decapitated. Then Vijayabāhu occupied Pulatthinagara without any further resistance from the Tamils. But soon a larger Cōḷa army came from the mainland, and there ensued another 'fiery battle' near Anurādhapura; victory was with the Cōḷa army, and Vijayabāhu was compelled to fortify himself at Vātagiri, in the Kegalla District.[49] The Cōḷas now stirred up rebellion against Vijayabāhu in the rear, but the king of Ceylon successfully stamped it out, and forced the leader of

[47] *CV.*, ch. 58, v. 59; ch. 59, vv. 8-9. *EZ.* ii, p. 207.
[48] Ch. 58, vv. 18 ff.
[49] Geiger, *CV.* i, p. 204 n. 2.

the revolt to seek refuge with the Cōḷas. Vijayabāhu then proceeded 'to Tambalagāma where he erected a new stronghold,' and taking up his residence in Mahānāgakula on the lower Walawē Gangā, he made fresh preparations for the Cōḷa war. He despatched two armies to attack the position of the Cōḷas from two sides: one by the coast highroad against Polonnāruwa, and the other to the west of the mountain system against Anurādhapura. The king himself advanced by Mahiyagangā. Polonnāruwa fell after severe fighting, and "when the ruler of the Cōḷas heard of this destruction of his army, he thought: the Sīhalas are (too) strong, and sent out no further army." Anurādhapura was captured by the other section of the Ceylonese army which pushed forward to Mahātittha. Vijayabāhu, 'the best of kings, greatly rejoicing, advanced in the fifteenth year (of his reign) to the greatly longed for, the best (town of) Anurādhapura'. His coronation as ruler of Lankā was delayed by a rebellion, and took place in his eighteenth year, A.D. 1076-7. Polonnāruwa now lost its Cōḷa title and was styled Vijayarājapura.[50] Vijayabāhu married Līlāvati, daughter of Jagatīpāla of Kanauj, whose queen had escaped from captivity in the Cōḷa country, and also Trilōkasundari of the Kalinga royal race, while his sister Mittā espoused a Pāṇḍyan prince, who became the grandfather of Parākramabāhu the Great. 'The king restored the Buddhist religion, renewing the priestly succession from Rāmañña (Pegu), and caused a temple for the tooth relic to be built at the capital by his general

[50] 600 of 1912, *SII.* iv. 1396, l. 17.

Nuvaragiri'.[51] The inscriptions of Kulōttunga are silent on the loss of Ceylon.

The Pāṇḍyan War.

The declaration of independence by Ceylon did not involve so great a subtraction from the plenitude of Cōḷa power as the revolt of the southern kingdoms on the mainland. The Cōḷa empire had nothing to fear from the independence of Ceylon if only it kept its power on the mainland unimpaired. The case of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was different. If the Cōḷa king failed to reduce it to subjection, it was sure to become a menace to the very existence of the Cōḷa power. Kulōttunga knew this, and the moment he found himself free from the Cāḷukya war, he bent all his energies towards the suppression of revolts in the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries.

Records of the fifth year of the reign contain a vague statement that the head of the Pāṇḍya king lay on the ground pecked by kites; later inscriptions say that this was outside the beautiful city of Kulōttunga.[52] If is clear that these statements are not meant to be taken literally, and that they are no more historical than the exaggerated phrases of conventional praise that precede them in the inscriptions. For a

[51] Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[52] *SII.* iii, 68, l. 2 and 69, l. 10. An inscription from Paḷaiyaśivaram (Ch.), 211 of 1922, though it is of the tenth year, gives only the general part of the *pugaḷ śūḷnda puṇari* introduction, including the statement about the Pāṇḍyan king's head, and makes no mention of the wars; this is perhaps because it gives the *praśasti* as it stood in the fourth year of the reign when the chief transaction recorded in the inscription took place.

more business-like account of the southern campaign, we must turn to the additional matter that begins to appear in the *pugaḻ śūḻnda puṇari* introduction from the eleventh year,[53] and to some other inscriptions of the reign.

(An undated Sanskrit inscription from Cidambaram[54] states that Kulōttunga overcame five Pāṇḍya kings, set fire to the fortress of Kōṭṭāṟu (like Arjuna burning the Khāṇḍava forest), subdued the numerous forces of the Kēraḷas, and erected a pillar of victory' on the sea-coast; thus it was that he reduced to obedience (*savidhikam akarot*) the rebellious group of vassal kings. The more detailed account given by the Tamil inscriptions is as follows:[55]

"Having resolved in his mind to conquer the Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam together with great fame, he despatched his great army,—which possessed excellent horses resembling the waves of the sea, war-elephants resembling ships, and infantry resembling water,—as though the Northern ocean was overflowing the Southern ocean. He completely destroyed the forest which the five Pāṇḍyas had entered as refuge when they fled cowering with fear, from the field of battle. He subdued their country, drove them into hot jungles in hills where woodmen roamed about, and planted pillars of victory in every direction. He seized the pearl fisheries, the Podiyil mountain where the three kinds of Tamil flourished, the Śaiyya mountain in the heart of which were found furious rutting elephants, and Kanni, and fixed the boundaries of the Southern (Pāṇḍya) country. While all the *Śāvērs* in

[53] 186 of 1914.
[54] *EI*. v, pp. 103-4.
[55] *SII*. iii, p. 147.

the Western hill-country ascended to the unique heaven (attained by warriors who fell fighting) he was pleased to bestow on his commanders, who were mounted on horses, settlements on every road, including one at Kōṭṭāṟu, to strike terror into his enemies."

The *Vikramaśōḻan-ulā*[56] describes Kulōttunga as the king with the army which routed the carp of the enemy (Pāṇḍya), destroyed the bow (emblem of the Cēra) and twice destroyed the fleet at Śālai. The *Kalingattupparaṇi* confirms these accounts:[57]

"Have you not heard of the destruction that overtook the five Pāṇḍyas when his army was despatched against them? Has it not reached your ears that the Cēras turned their backs when the (Cōḷa) army marched to the fight? Was it not with the army that Viḻiñam on the sea was destroyed, and Śālai captured?"

These accounts of the conquest of the Pāṇḍyas and Cēras, the fights at Kōṭṭāṟu, Viḻiñam and Śālai are substantially true; the *Kulōttunga-śōḻan Piḷḷaittamiḻ* mentions also a battle of Śemponmāri (Ramnad Dt.).[58] The decimation of the ranks of *Śāvērs,* veteran soldiers who had banished from their hearts all fear of death and who formed a considerable section of the forces of the Pāṇḍyas[59] and the Cēras, must have been the result of very hard fighting. The identity of the five Pāṇḍyas conquered by Kulōttunga remains

[56] ll. 46-8.

[57] xi, vv. 70-2. The questions are addressed to Anantavarman of Kalinga by one of his ministers to show him that Kulōttunga's army was a tried force able to do great deeds even in the absence of Kulōttunga.

[58] v. 10.

[59] *Studies*, p. 191.

obscure;[60] even Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha was not one of them, but seems to have begun his rule sometime after Kulōttunga's conquest and settlement of the southern country. Kulōttunga was evidently not in a position to restore the Cōḷa administrative arrangements introduced into the Pāṇḍya country by Rājarāja I, and he hit upon the device of establishing military colonies (*nilaip-paḍai*) along the important routes of communication in the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa territory. Except for the presence of these military outposts, the symbols of Cōḷa overlordship, the attempt to change place-names to commemorate Cōḷa titles,[61] and the collection of an annual tribute from the subordinate rulers of these districts, there was no attempt on the part of Kulōttunga to interfere with their internal administration. The numerous inscriptions of the Pāṇḍyan kings of this period betray few signs of their political subjection to the Cōḷas, and the inscriptions of Kulōttunga and his successors are not found in such numbers in this area as in the territories under their direct rule.[62]

[60] *PK.*, pp. 120-2; 21 of 1927 of the tenth year of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha mentions the 31st year of Kulōttunga who took Kollam, doubtless Kulōttunga I. Kulōttunga's reconquest of the South was over by his eleventh year, A.D. 1081. Śrīvallabha's tenth year is later than the thirty-first of Kulōttunga, i.e. A.D. 1101, so that Śrīvallabha's rule did not begin earlier than A.D. 1091. This means that he could not have been among the Pāṇḍyas attacked and overthrown by Kulōttunga's forces. It also means that at the end of his campaign, Kulōttunga had to allow the princes of the ancient Pāṇḍya line to continue their rule in full regal style though under the suzerainty of the Cōḷa power. It is clear that the system of appointing Cōḷa princes as Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys was not resumed by Kulōttunga. The Pāṇḍyan kingdom then seems to have stood in this period in the same relation to the Cōḷa power as Vengi did between A.D. 1000 and 1070.

[61] Viḻiñam is called Rājēndra-śōḻa-paṭṭinam in an inscription of the 21st year (46 of 1927). The *Nilaippaḍai* of Kōṭṭār is mentioned in the 39th year. (*TAS.* i, pp. 246-7).

[62] *ARE.* 1927 II, 18.

About fifteen years after this reconquest and settlement of the Southern country there seems to have been another revolt in which Vēṇāḍ took the lead. This fact is to be inferred from the considerable number of inscriptions which describe the services of Naralōkavīra, the earliest date occurring in these inscriptions being the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Kulōttunga.[63] The interval between the close of the first Pāṇḍyan war of the reign and the first mention of Naralōkavīra in its inscriptions, and the frequent mention of Kālingarāya, one of the titles of Naralōkavīra, in the inscriptions of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha, render it likely that the Southern campaign in which this commander distinguished himself, was different from the war in the early years of the reign.[64] The enemies dealt with and the places which formed the centres of conflict were naturally more or less the same as in the earlier war; the result was also the same.

Revolt and suppression.

The success of Vijayabāhu in establishing the independence of Ceylon by putting an end to Cōḷa power in the island rankled in the mind of Kulōttunga who was waiting for a favourable opportunity to renew

[63] *Studies*, pp. 178 ff.

[64] It is not impossible, however, that Naralōkavīra fought as a common soldier in the earlier war, that there was no second war at all, and that when, later on, he rose to a high position in the state, his earlier fights were painted in glowing colours. The point is that as Naralōkavīra survived Kulōttunga and held office under Vikrama Cōḷa for six or seven years, he could not have been old enough to have attained high rank in the army in the early years of Kulōttunga's reign.

the war with the Ceylonese ruler.[65] The Tamil population in Ceylon was quite considerable, and Tamil mercenaries formed a large part of the Singalese army at this time.[65a] This was the natural result of the recent change of rulers brought about by Vijayabāhu in the northern half of the island. But as the Tamils were loyal to the memory of the Cōḷa rule, still fresh in their minds, Kulōttunga found favourable conditions for furthering his designs against the Ceylonese ruler in secret. The following account, given by the *Mahāvamsa* of the occurrences about A.D. 1088 sheds a lurid light on the policy of Kulōttunga:[66]

> "Envoys sent by the Kaṇṇāṭa Monarch and by the Cōḷa King came hither with rich presents. They sought out the Monarch. He was greatly pleased thereat and after rendering both embassies what was their due, he sent at first with the Kaṇṇāṭa messengers his own envoys to Kaṇṇāṭa with choice gifts. But the Cōḷas maimed the noses and ears of the Sīhala messengers horribly when they entered their country. Thus disfigured they returned hither and told the King everything that had been done to them by the Cōḷa King. In flaming fury Vijayabāhu in the midst of all his courtiers had the Damiḷa envoys summoned and gave them the following message for the Cōḷa king. 'Beyond ear-shot, on a lonely island in the midst of the ocean shall a trial of the strength of our arms take place in single combat, or, after arming the whole forces of thy kingdom and of mine a battle shall be fought

[65] Paranavitana says (*EI*. xviii, p. 333), that the Tirukkaḷukkunṟam inscription (*IA*. xxi, p. 282) of Kulōttunga claims that he sent an expedition to Ceylon without any definite results. In saying this, he overlooks the more reliable edition of the inscription by Hultzsch, *SII*. iii, 75, and in particular note 10 at p. 164.

[65a] Inscription No. 509 of Ceylon dated 1114 A.D., that is some years after the suppression of the military revolt, mentions Śēdarāyan *alias* Malaimaṇḍala Nāyakan, a Vēḷaikkāran of Jayabāhudēvar. *Ceylon Journal of Science*—G. ii, p. 122.

[66] *CV*. i, pp. 216-8.

at a spot to be determined by thee; exactly in the manner I have said it shall ye report to your master'. After these words he dismissed the envoys clad in women's apparel in haste to the Cōḷa King, then he betook himself with his army to Anurādhapura. To the seaports Mattikāvāṭatittha and Mahātittha he sent two generals to betake themselves to the Cōḷa kingdom and begin the war. While the generals were procuring ships and provisions in order to send the troops to the Cōḷa kingdom, then, in the thirtieth year (of the king's reign), the division of the troops called Vēḷakkāra revolted as they did not want to go thither. They slew the two generals and like rutting elephants in their unbridledness, they plundered the country round Pulatthinagara. They captured the younger sister of the King with her three sons and burned down with violence the King's palace. The King left the town and betook himself in haste to Dakkiṇadēsa and having hidden all his valuable possessions on the Vātagiri rock, he advanced together with the Uparāja Vīrabāhu, of lion-like courage, and surrounded by a great force, to Pulatthinagara where after a sharp fight he shortly put the assembled troops to flight. Placing them around the pyre on which were laid the remains of the murdered generals, he had the recreant leaders of the troops, their hands bound fast to their backs, chained to a stake and burnt in the midst of the flames blazing up around them. The Ruler having (thus) executed there the ring-leaders of the rebels, freed the soil of Lankā everywhere from the briers (of the rebels).

"The King did not lose sight of the aim he had set himself of fighting with the Cōḷa (King), and in the forty-fifth year (of his reign) he marched with war-equipped troops to the port on the sea and stayed there some time awaiting his arrival. But as the Cōḷa (King) did not appear, the King dismissed his envoys, returned to Pulatthinagara and resided there a considerable time."

The tortuous policy of Kulōttunga, however, failed completely. The Vēḷaikkāra rebellion was suppressed

and the mercenaries bound themselves to serve the king loyally thereafter and the chief Buddhist shrine of Polonnaruwa[67] was placed under their protection. Kulōttunga apparently made his peace with Vijayabāhu, for one of his daughters, Sūriyavalliyār, married Vīrapperumāḷ, a Singalese prince of the Pāṇḍyan party in Ceylon, and made a gift of a 'perpetual' lamp to an Īśvara temple in the reign of Jayabāhu I, the successor of Vijayabāhu.[68]

Relations with China

From the Song annals of China we learn that an embassy from Chulien (Cōḷa) reached the Chinese court in the year 1077 and that the king of Chulien at the time was called Ti-hua-kia-lo. It is possible that these syllables disguise the name of Dēva Kulō(ttunga). Indeed Dēva-kala and Divākara, it has been said,[68a] are the only possible restorations, and Dēva-kula or -kulō is impossible. But considering that the name is that of the Cōḷa king ruling in 1077 A.D., the suggestion that it is Kulōttunga's name that has been thus distorted does not seem far-fetched. This 'embassy' was clearly a trading venture and seems to have ended very profitably for the Tamils. For the seventy-two men who formed the embassy "were given 81,800 strings of copper cash, i.e., about as many dollars, in return for the articles of tribute comprising glassware, camphor, brocates (called *Kimhwa* in the Chinese text), rhinoceros horns, ivory, incense,

[67] 600 of 1912; *EI.* xviii, pp. 330 ff.

[68] *Ceylon Journal of Science*, G. II, 2, pp. 105 and 116.

[68a] By Pelliot and Coedes in letters to the present writer.

rose-water, putchuck, asafoetida, borax, cloves, etc.''[68b] Turning now to Kaḍāram, there is indeed a stray reference in the *Kalingattupparaṇi* to Kulōttunga's destruction of Kaḍāram on the wide ocean,[68c] and his inscriptions speak of costly tributes from foreign islands. But the references are vague and we should not lose sight of the literary convention by which a poet may attribute to one ruler all the achievements of his predecessors on the throne. That Kulōttuṅga was in touch with the empire of Śrī Vijaya becomes clear from other evidence, particularly the smaller Leyden grant. The suggestion has been made that Kulōttunga spent part of the period 1063 to 1070 in Śrī Vijaya restoring order and maintaining the Cōḷa power in that quarter.[68d] Two facts have been cited in support of this view: Kulōttunga restored peace in the Eastern lands in his youth, like Viṣṇu gently raising the Earth from the waters of the ocean; secondly the names of the high official who visited China as envoy from Śrī Vijaya in 1067 and of the Cōḷa emperor who sent the embassy to China (noted above) ten years later are the same, Ti-hua-kia-lo—Dēvakala, probably a part of Dēva Kulō(ttunga). Tempting as the suggestion looks, we cannot accept it without hesitation. It is very surprising that if Kulōttunga had such a romantic career across the seas before taking possession of the Cōḷa throne we

[68b] *JRAS.* 1896, p. 490 n.; *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 100 n. 6; *JA.* xi: 20, (1922), p. 20; *BEFEO.* xxiii, p. 470.

[68c] vi. v. 18.

[68d] *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. i, pp. 87-8.

should not get more specific information about it in the numerous records of the reign. One inscription[68a] indeed says that a beautiful stone was shown to Kulōttunga by the king of Kāmbhōja as a curio (*kātci*). When did he do so? Did Kulōttunga visit Kāmbhōja, the Khmer kingdom?

and Kaḍāram.

Scholars have been puzzled by a statement in the Chinese annals (preserved in the pages of Ma Tuan-lin) that the Cōḷa Kingdom was subject to Śrī Vijaya in A.D. 1068-77. In recording an embassy from Pagan in 1106, Ma Tuan-lin says in effect: "The Emperor at first gave order to receive them and treat them as they treated the envoys of Tchou-lien (Cōḷa); but the President of the Council of Rites presented the following observations: 'the Cōḷa is subject to San-fo-ts'i; this is why in the years *hi-ning* (1068-1077), we were content to write to the King of this Kingdom on strong paper with an envelope of plain stuff. The King of Pou-kan (Pagan) on the contrary is sovereign of a great kingdom of the Fan.....' "[69] From this interesting passage we gather that the ambassadors of San-fo-ts'i (Śrī Vijaya) had sometime in 1068-1077 claimed in the Chinese court that the Cōḷa kingdom was subject to them and that they were entitled to a higher rank than the representatives of the Cōḷa ruler, and that this order of priority was cited as a precedent in 1106 to justify the ranking of Cōḷa envoys below those

[68a] *EI.* v, p. 105.

[69] *BEFEO.* xviii, 6, p. 8, cited by Coedes.

from Pagan. To appraise these statements at their proper value, one must recall the difficulties that would most naturally be experienced by envoys from the Tamil country in making their position and that of their ruler properly understood in distant China. We may notice that much earlier than 1068, the embassies sent to China by Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I experienced similar difficulties and were ranked much below their proper place.[69a] The *gaucherie* of the Tamil envoys, the ignorance of Chinese officialdom of the true state of politics in remote countries, and perhaps, the readiness of the ambassadors of Śrī Vijaya to indulge in unjust misrepresentations relating to Cōḷa must have combined to bring about the situation recorded by Ma Tuan-lin. There is not the slightest ground, however, to believe that either in 1068 or in 1106, the Cōḷa Kingdom became the vassal of Śrī Vijaya. All the other evidence on the relations between the two kingdoms is opposed to this assumption.[70]

Vīrarājēndra, as we have seen, claims to have sent an expedition to Kaḍāram (Śrī Vijaya) in 1068 A.D. and to have conquered that country on behalf of one of its rulers who sought his protection and to have established him on the throne. This seems not improbable, and might have resulted in a vague recognition of the

[69a] *Chau Ju-kua*, pp. 96, 101.

[70] Cf. Krom—*Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* pp. 302-4. Vogel simply says that it is not clear what importance should be attached to the Chinese source quoted above—*Bijdragen* Deel 75 (1919), p. 637. Coedes (*loc. cit.*) is inclined to believe that as the Cōḷa inscriptions exaggerate the sway of the Cōḷa over Śrī Vijaya, so the latter, 'in its turn pretends to exercise its sovereignty over the Cōḷas.' Gerini is the only writer who accepts Ma Tuan-lin's statement at its face value. *Researches*, p. 624 n. 1.

suzerainty of the Cōḷa power by the new ruler. However that may be, the king of Śrī Vijaya sent an embassy to Kulōttunga I about 1090 and requested him to issue a copper-plate grant containing the names of the villages granted by the Cōḷa kings as *paḷḷic-candam* to the two *vihāras* built by the king of Kaḍāram at Śōḷa-kulavalli-paṭṭinam, evidently another name for Negapatam. In the smaller Leyden grant,[71] for it is by this name that Kulōttunga's grant made on this occasion is generally known, the two *vihāras* are called Rājēndra-śōḷap-perumbaḷḷi and Rājarājap-perumbaḷḷi;[72] the latter having also the alternative name Śrī Śailēndra-Cūḍāmaṇivarma-Vihāra,[73] showing its identity with the *vihāra* mentioned in the Larger Leyden grant of the reign of Rājarāja I. The embassy from Kaḍāram comprises two envoys (*dūtas*) Rājavidyādhara Śrī Sāmanta and Abhimanōttunga Sāmanta, who petitioned the King (*viṇṇappam śeyya*) for the issue of the grant, while he was seated on his throne Kāliṅgarāyan in the bathing hall (*tirumañjana śālai*)[74] inside the palace at Āyirattaḷi alias Āhavamallakula-Kālapuram. And the longer *praśasti* of Kulōttunga's inscriptions mentions the fact that at the gate of his palace stood rows of elephants showering jewels sent as tribute from the island kingdoms of the wide ocean.[75] Another proof of

[71] *ASSI.* iv, p. 224.
[72] *ibid.* ll. 6-7.
[73] *ibid.* ll. 39-40.
[74] This phrase which occurs often in the inscriptions is noteworthy as implying that the king heard petitions while he was bathing. 74 of 1932, l. 39. gives the expression: *viṭṭin uḷḷāl kuḷikkum-iḍattu*. To our notions it seems a strange mode of receiving a foreign embassy to hear them while you are bathing. See, however, p. 51 below for an *abhiṣēka maṇḍapa*.
[75] *SII.* iii, p. 146.

the continued friendly relations between the two kingdoms in this period comes from Sumatra. It is a fragmentary Tamil inscription dated 1010 Śaka (A.D. 1088) from Loboe Toewa, and mentioning the name of a celebrated mercantile corporation of South India, the Tiśaiyāyirattu-Aiññūṟṟuvar,[76] a name which, from analogous forms in the Cōḷa inscriptions of the period, is best understood as "the Five Hundred of the thousand (districts) in the (Four) quarters." While there is little evidence of the political power of the Cōḷas having extended to the islands of the Malay archipelago in this period, trade relations and culture contacts established in an earlier age seem to have been actively maintained in the reign of Kulōttunga, and perhaps also under his successors.

Viceroys of Vēngī.

In the North, Kulōttunga left the administration of the Vengi kingdom in the hands of Vijayāditya VII until his death. The relations between them, never very happy, seem to have continued strained even after Kulōttunga's accession to the Cōḷa throne. There are Eastern Ganga inscriptions which show that the Ganga king Rājarāja took up the cause of Vijayāditya VII with Kulōttunga and secured for him a peaceful time towards the end of his life and career as ruler of Vengi. Whether, as seems probable, this intercession of Rājarāja took place after and in virtue of his marriage with Rājasundari, the daughter of Kulōttunga, or whether his marriage

[76] For a full discussion of this inscription, see my paper on 'A Tamil Merchant-Guild in Sumatra' (*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-;Land-,en Volkenkunde*, 1932, p. 314).

with the Cōḷa princess and Kulōttunga's continued recognition of Vijayāditya as Viceroy were alike the terms of an alliance between Rājarāja and Kulōttunga following a short campaign, it is not easy to decide.[77] However that may be, after the death of Vijayāditya at the end of fifteen years of his reign in Vengi, Kulōttunga appointed his son, Rājarāja Mummaḍi Cōḍa, as Viceroy, and he was anointed as Viceroy most probably on July 27th A.D. 1076.[78] He preferred living under the same roof as his parents to the enjoyment of a distant Viceroyalty, and at the end of a year, he relinquished his office. His younger brother, Vīra Cōḍa, was then chosen Viceroy and continued to rule in Vengi for a period of six years from the date of his coronation in Śaka 1001 (A.D. 1078-9).[79] From 1084 to 1089 another son of Kulōttunga, by name Rājarāja Cōḍaganga, was the Viceroy. This is clear from the Ṭēki plates of this ruler, dated in the seventeenth year, obviously of Kulōttunga. The Piṭhāpuram plates of Vīra Cōḍa[80] also state that Vīra Cōḍa was recalled from Vengi by his father who desired 'to see the growing beauty of his youthful countenance', and that he was sent again to the North at the end of five years though his father's 'eyes had not attained satiety'. But these plates do not state what happened at Vengi during the five years that Vīra Cōḍa spent with his father, and the Cellūr plates of Vīra Cōḍa make no reference either to the break in-

[77] See *ante*, Ch. xii.

[78] *EI.* v. No. 10; vi, No. 35, *ARE.* 1922, II 6.

[79] Piṭhāpuram plates (*EI.*, v. No. 10), v. 21.

[80] vv. 25-26.

his Viceroyalty or to Cōḍaganga. Hultzsch says[81] that this total silence of the Cellūr plates and the omission of Cōḍaganga's name from the Piṭhāpuram plates may lead us to suppose that Cōḍaganga had discredited himself with his father and had been on bad terms with his brother. The fact that Cōḍaganga, though apparently the eldest son of Kulōttunga,[82] was not appointed Viceroy until a comparatively late stage lends colour to the supposition. In any event, Vīra Cōḍa's second term as Viceroy of Vengi seems to have commenced about A.D. 1088-89 and lasted till at least 1092-93. As Viceroy of Vengi, Vīra Cōḍa was assisted by a Velanāṇṭi Prince Vedura II, a nephew of Gonka I, in a battle against an unnamed Pāṇḍya King, and Vīra Cōḍa conferred on Vedura the doab country, Sindhuyugmāntaradēśa, identified by Hultzsch, with the land between the Kṛṣṇā and Gōdāvari.[83] Soon after, Kulōttunga likewise favoured other princes of the same line. Vīra Cōḍa was succeeded by Vikrama Cōḷa who apparently ruled in Vengi till he was chosen heir-apparent to the Cōḷa throne in A.D. 1118.

Wars in the North.

We hear little of happenings in Vengi and further North till we reach the period of Vikrama Cōḷa's office. In his inscriptions dated after his accession to the Cōḷa throne, there occurs a brief description of his Viceroyalty of Vengi. It is this:

[81] *EI.* vi. p. 335.

[82] *Agrajam*-Ṭēki Plates, v. 21.

[83] *EI.* iv, p. 36.

"While yet a child,[84] (he) bore the cruel weapons (of war), so that at Kuḷam the Telinga Vīman ascended the mountains as refuge, and so that hot fire consumed the land of Kalinga; he thus stayed joyfully in the Vēngai-Maṇḍalam and was pleased to subdue the Northern region."

The inscriptions of Kulōttunga himself contain accounts of two Cōḷa invasions of Kalingam, one of which is, no doubt, the subject of the celebrated *Paraṇi* of Jayangoṇḍār.[85] The first invasion of Kalingam is mentioned in inscriptions of the twenty-sixth year,[86] and from the brevity with which the subjection of Kalingam is mentioned on this occasion, we may conclude that this was the war in which Vikrama Cōḷa distinguished himself as a young man. The second and later invasion of Kalinga is mentioned in the inscriptions of the forty-second and subsequent years;[87] this is the invasion which gave the occasion for the *Paraṇi*, and apparently Vikrama Cōḷa had no part in it.

First Kalinga War.

The first Kalinga War seems to have been brought about by Kalinga aggression against Vengi, and to have resulted in the annexation of the southern part of the Kalinga Country to the Cōḷa Empire. The chief

[84] *Aimbaḍaipparuvam* simply means childhood, the period when amulets shaped like the five weapons of Viṣṇu are worn. See Tamil Lexicon s.v. Aimbaḍaittāli. (Cf. *Kalingattupparaṇi*, x 8). This is of course an exaggeration of the youthful age of Vikrama Cōḷa when he began his career as Viceroy. *Contra* Hultzsch *SII*. iii, p. 184 and n. 7.

[85] See *ante*, i. pp. 19-20.

[86] *SII*. iii, 72 and 304 of 1907; also 463 of 1911 (year 27). I see no justification for Sewell mentioning this event under A.D. 1090. *HISI*. p. 89.

[87] 608 of 1904, 44 of 1891.

of Kolanu, modern Ellore near the Colair lake, was evidently in league with the ruler of Kalinga, and Vikrama Cōḷa had to fight on two fronts simultaneously. A vassal of the Cōḷa Emperor from the distant South, the Pāṇḍya King Parāntaka took part in this war and assisted Vikrama Cōḷa. The inscriptions of Parāntaka Pāṇḍya,[88] like those of Vikrama Cōḷa, state that Kuḷam of the Telunga Bhīma was captured and that Southern Kalingam was subdued. Bhīma was a very common name in the family; it was borne by many rulers of Kolanu, Sarōnāthas, from the time of Rājarāja I Cōḷa to at least the middle of the twelfth century A.D.[89] No details are forthcoming of this first war against Kalinga. The campaign seems to have been undertaken for the suppression of local revolts rather than for the conquest of fresh territory. Southern Kalinga was apparently the territory between the Gōdāvari and the Mahēndra mountain,[90] and this territory was already part of the Vengi province some years before the war of Vikrama Cōḷa.[91] Possibly, the subordinate rulers whose territories were included in the Viceroyalty of Vengi conspired together and rose in rebellion when the young prince Vikrama Cōḷa was appointed to the charge of the province. The revolt was unsuccessful, and the entire province was restored to subjection. A Tamil inscription of Kulōttunga at Simhācalam dated Śaka

[88] *TAS.* 1, p. 22, l. 8.
[89] *ARE.* 1917, II 27.
[90] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 591.
[91] Ṭēki plates l. 83—*Maṇṇēṭi-Mahēndra-madhya-vartino. EI.* vi, p. 335.

1021 (A.D. 1098-9),[92] and several others at Drākṣārāma and other places attest the successful restoration of authority.

Second War.

The later invasion which took place about A.D. 1110 is described in some detail in the inscriptions of Kulōttunga and at greater length in the *Kalingattupparaṇi*. According to the inscriptions,[93] the Cōḷa army crossed the Vengi territory, destroyed the elephant corps that was set by the enemy to oppose its march, spread fire across the enemy country of Kalingam, killed in the fight many powerful leaders of the Kalinga army whose heads rolled on the battle-field, pecked by kites, and in the end subdued the Seven Kalingas. The account in the *Kalingattupparaṇi* may be summarised as follows.[94] When the emperor sat in darbar in his palace at Kāñcī, the *tiru-mandira-ōlai* announced to his master the arrival of subject kings who had brought the annual tribute, and were waiting outside. The vassals were then permitted to enter and exhibit their presents. At the end, the emperor enquired if there were any who had defaulted, and was informed that the

[92] 363 of 1899. Venkayya postulates a Kalinga invasion of Vengi which reached Ellore. "The way in which Vikrama Cōḷa's conquest is described may (at least provisionally) be taken to mean that he probably repelled a Kalinga invasion into Vengi. The invading army apparently advanced as far south as Ellore or some place near it, where the decisive battle seems to have taken place." *ARE.* 1905, II 18. However, he adds: "The earlier invasion which took place in or before A.D. 1095-96 was perhaps against South Kalinga, in which Cōḍaganga, who was lord of Tri-Kalinga, had apparently no direct interest". (*ibid*).

[93] 44 of 1891, (*SII.* iv, 445). The *praśasti* records the war as a personal achievement of Kulōttunga. But the *Paraṇi* is clear that the expedition was led, not by the king, but his generalissimo, Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān.

[94] *IA.* xix, p. 333.

king of North Kalinga had done so twice. The emperor forthwith issued the command that an expedition should be sent against Kalinga to storm the hill-forts of Kalinga and bring its ruler as a prisoner of war. The valiant Pallava chieftain, Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān, lord of Vaṇḍai, offered to carry out the emperor's orders and was accepted. The expeditionary force led by Karuṇākara soon started from Kāñcī. It crossed the Pālār and the Ponmukhari rivers and reached the Peṇṇār; among the other streams crossed by it before reaching Kalingam were the Maṇṇāṟu, the Kṛṣṇā, the Gōdāvari, the Pampā and the Gōtami. The Cōḷa army began to spread destruction as it entered Kalinga, and the suffering inhabitants fled to their king and reported to him what they had seen and suffered. Anantavarman, who had known no defeat before, made light of the whole business, as it was only Kulōttunga's army, not the emperor himself, that was advancing; one of his ministers, Engarāya, remonstrated with him and spoke of the great achievements that already stood to the credit of the Cōḷa army. Nothing daunted, Anantavarman prepared for the fight. The battle that ensued ended in a complete victory for the Cōḷa forces and Anantavarman sought his safety in flight. After a futile search for him, the victorious Cōḷa army returned home with vast booty.

The invasion of North Kalinga, called the Seven Kalingas, and the part of Karuṇākara in it are thus well attested by the inscriptions and

the poem. Only the poem gives the immediate cause of the war, namely the default on the part of the Kalinga king in the payment of the annual tribute. This king, Anantavarman Cōḍaganga, was the grandson of Kulōttunga himself by his daughter Rājasundarī. Dynastic connections, however, seldom availed to stop the course of political ambition, and it would seem that Kulōttunga was the aggressor on this occasion. It is hard to believe that throughout the long and, apparently, prosperous reign of Anantavarman, the kingdom of Kalinga was a vassal state remitting a fixed tribute annually to the Cōḷa court. It may be noted that an inscription from Drākṣārāma[95] dated Śaka 1003 in the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana (Kulōttunga?) records a gift by the wife of a Pradhāni of the Tri-Kalingādhipati Rājarājadēva. If this is a reference to the father of Anantavarman, it would follow that Kalinga was such a vassal state at least for a time. The real cause of the war, however, is obscure; and the darbar held by Kulōttunga at Kāñcīpuram in the historic palace of the Cōḷas in that city[96] and the report of Anantavarman's default made to the emperor by his secretary, may be, not history, but only a literary setting for the grand military enterprise described in the poem. It is clear that the expedition of Karuṇākara led to no permanent results. There is no

[95] 181 of 1893; *ARE.* gives Ś. 1002.

[96] The palace and the particular hall in it where Kulōttunga held his darbar are mentioned so early as the reign of Uttama Cōḷa—Museum Plates l. 13. (*SII.* iii, p. 269).

evidence of a Cōḷa occupation of Northern Kalinga.[97] It may also be noted that a Kōṭa chief Bhīma is said, in an inscription of A.D. 1108,[98] to have assisted the Cōḷa in subduing the Kalinga country. This may be a reference to his part in the first or the second war.

Extent of Empire.

The Empire of Kulōttunga still retained its greatest extent in his forty-fifth regnal year or thereabouts. Barring the loss of Ceylon, the troubles and risings in the first years of the reign had not resulted in any serious loss of territory. The boundary between the Western Cāḷukya and Cōḷa dominions was what it had always

[97] Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar: *Karuṇākarat-toṇḍaimān*, in his *Kalingattupparaṇi-yārāycci*, has a good discussion of this expedition. From ll. 660-2 of the *Vikramaśōḻan-ulā*, Venkayya infers that Vikrama Cōḷa took part in the expedition led by Karuṇākara against North Kalinga, (*ARE*. 1905 II, 18). Jayangoṇḍār makes no mention of Vikrama Cōḷa anywhere in his narrative, and his silence would be unaccountable even on the assumption that Vikrama Cōḷa did not start from Kāñcī, but joined the expeditionary force somewhere in the Vengi province. On the other hand, there are other literary references to Vikrama's war against North Kalinga, besides the one noted by Venkayya. These, which we shall discuss later, seem to imply that there was another expedition in Vikrama's reign, and the lines of the *ulā* cited above must be taken to refer to it.

Venkayya (*ibid*) also argues that (i) Cōḍaganga became strong and powerful only during the latter part of his reign, and (ii) Kulōttunga's invasion against North Kalinga was undertaken to help him against "some rebellious feudatory, whose territories were denoted by the term 'Seven Kalingas'." For (i) he depends on a comparison of the two Vizagapatam plates of A.D. 1087 (1081 ?) and 1118-19 (*IA*. xviii); but a perusal of the third set of plates dated A.D. 1135 shows that the points made by Venkayya cannot be true; he is dealing with differences due, not to a change in the political power or status of Cōḍaganga, but to the two different types of *praśastis* employed in the two sets of plates. No. (ii) above is contradicted by the *Kalingattupparaṇi* which says clearly that Anantavarman himself, and not any vassal of his, was the Lord of Seven Kalingas, and that Karuṇākara's expedition was directed against Anantavarman himself. Anantavarman's boast about Utkala in the East and Vengi in the West may be no more than a reference to his father Rājarāja's achievements of which he enjoyed the results.

[98] 567 of 1925.

been, a shifting frontier in the neighbourhood of the Tungabhadrā, whose exact position at any particular time is to be determined by the provenance of contemporary inscriptions. The presence of Kulōttunga's inscriptions in Nandalūr (Cuddapah) called Kulōttunga-śōḷa-Caturvēdimangalam, and in Tripurāntakam (Karnūl),[99] as also in the Mysore country up to the forty-fifth year[100] proves that the rule of Kulōttunga was successfully maintained in these quarters. The hold over Vengi was quite firm and had rendered possible a successful invasion of the territory of its northern neighbour, Kalinga.

'oreign connections.

The Cōḷa Empire under Kulōttunga maintained extensive foreign connections in India and outside. The relations with the Empire of Śrī Vijaya have been noticed above. An incomplete Gāhaḍvāl *praśasti* engraved on the walls of the temple of Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḷa-puram shows that Cōḷa diplomacy in this period embraced the Northern India States within the range of its orbit. This *praśasti* which begins *Akuṇṭhōtkaṇṭha* must belong to Madanapāla or his son Gōvindacandra of Kanauj. The inscription[101] opens by citing the forty-first regnal year of Kulōttunga, and then gives a good part of the Gāhaḍvāl *praśasti*, but stops without giving the name of the actual ruler who makes the record or detailing the gift which furnishes the occasion for it.

[99] 600 of 1907; 265 of 1905.
[100] 494 of 1911=*EC.* iv, Kr. 34.
[101] 29 of 1908. *ARE.* 1908, II, 58-60.

This *praśasti* in the distant Cōḷa capital is perhaps evidence of some dynastic connection, otherwise unknown, between these two dynasties. And the increased emphasis on sun-worship in the Cōḷa country in Kulōttunga's reign may be due to the close association with the Gāhadvāls who were great worshippers of the sun.[102] It may also be noted in passing that a certain Vāgīśvara-rakṣita of the Cōḍa country is mentioned in a copper-plate grant of Gōvindacandra (A.D. 1129) as a disciple of Śākyarakṣita of Orissa.[103] We have already noticed the inscription from Cidambaram which is dated 13th March A.D. 1114, and mentions the facts that Rājēndra received a peculiar stone as a present from the king of Kāmbhōja, and that he caused this stone to be inserted into the wall of a hall in front of the shrine at Cidambaram.[104] One wonders if this is a relic of the friendly connections maintained by Kulōttunga with the powerful Khmer empire across the seas, on the sea-route to China. Kyanzittha (1084—1112 A.D.), the ruler of Pagan, is said in Burmese accounts, to have met a Cōḷa prince, converted him to Buddhism and married his daughter; Tamil epigraphy and literature offer no help in settling the identity of the Cōḷa prince or the truth of the Burmese story.[105]

[102] *ARE.* 1927 II, 19-21.

[103] *EI.* xi, No. 3, ll. 19 ff.

[104] 119 of 1888, *EI.* v, p. 105, *ante* p. 27.

[105] *ARB.* 1918, paragraphs 41-2; 1919 paragraph 39; *ARE.* 1919, I, 9. *Ep. Bir.* i, pp. 164-5.

Loss of Gangavāḍi.

Towards the end of his reign, Kulōttunga lost the province of Gangavāḍi to the rising power of the Hoysalas. Though the Hoysalas are mentioned as early as 1006 A.D. in the reign of Rājarāja I,[106] Hoysala history really commences with Nṛpa-Kāma (c. A.D. 1022—1040), the father of Vinayāditya and patron of Ēcama or Ēciga, the father of Gangarāja, the Hoysala general who captured Taḷakkāḍ from the Cōḷas in 1116 A.D. For many years the Hoysalas acknowledged the supremacy of the Western Cāḷukyas, the enemies of the Cōḷa power, and we have seen that Eṟeyanga, the son of Vinayāditya, assisted Vikramāditya VI in his wars against Kulōttunga after the accession of the latter to the Cōḷa throne. The real extent of Hoysala rule in the early stages of their rise is not easy to determine. The boundaries of the Hoysala territory recorded in an inscription of Ballāla I[107] and the provenance of the Hoysala and Cōḷa inscriptions of the period suggest the conclusion that Hoysala rule was confined to the Hassan and Kaḍūr districts and parts of Nāgamangala taluq. And it is also clear that Vinayāditya was a feudatory of the contemporary Cāḷukyas throughout the long period of his rule c. 1047-1100 A.D., as is seen from the part of the Hoysala in the war between Vikramāditya and Kulōttunga.

[106] TN. 44. For Hoysala history in general, see *BG.* I, ii, pp. 490 ff. and Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, pp. 94 ff.

[107] *EC.* v. Bl. 199.

It was under Biṭṭiga Viṣṇu-Vardhana (1100—1152)[108] that the Hoysalas attained a really prominent position. The title 'Taḷakāḍu-goṇḍa' is first applied to him in an inscription dated A.D. 1116, and in the same year he is described as ruling in Taḷakāḍu and Kōlāla (Kōlār), over the whole of Gangavāḍi as far as Kongu.[109] The Bēlūr copper-plate grant (A.D. 1117) records that 'he first acquired the wealth of the Hoysala rule or dominions; that, pushing on so far as to take Taḷakāḍ, he was the first to promote the race of Yadu to the rule of the dominions of the Gangas; and that he burnt the capital city of the Gangas'. It is thus clear that Viṣṇu-Vardhana inherited some limited territory round about Bēlūr and that, in the first five or six years of his rule, he greatly extended his sway by the conquest of the Gangavāḍi province.

This province was under the Cōḷas at the time and regularly administered as a division of the Cōḷa Empire. It was conquered for the Hoysala by his Daṇḍanāyaka Ganga-rāja. The ancient line of Adigaimāns of Tagaḍūr (Dharmapuri) in the Kongu country acted as the representatives of Cōḷa power in this region. The Hoysala inscriptions begin their narrative of Ganga-rāja's conquest of the Cōḷa province with the statement that the Cōḷa's *sāmanta* Adiyama was stationed like the bolt of a door above the ghats, in the camp at Taḷakāḍu, on the frontier of the Gangavāḍi-nāḍu, that Adiyama refused to surrender to Ganga-rāja, the *Nāḍu* which the

[108] Rice gave the period 1111—1141 to Viṣṇu-Vardhana. A closer study of his records by A. Krishnamurti supports the dates adopted in the text.

[109] Rice *op. cit.*, p. 93 and n.

Cōḷa had given and told Ganga-rāja to fight and take it.[110] The battle which followed and practically decided the fate of the Gangavāḍi province must have been fought not far from Taḷakāḍ. Besides Adiyama, two other chiefs, Dāmōdara and Narasimha Varma, and other unnamed *Sāmantas* fought on the Cōḷa side. The victory of Ganga-rāja against the Tiguḷas (Tamils) was complete, and he followed up his success by expelling the Tamils from Gangavāḍi. "Having driven out the Tiguḷas, he restored Gangavāḍi to Vīra Ganga (Viṣṇu-Vardhana); was not Ganga-rāja a hundred-fold more fortunate than the former Rāja[111] of the Gangas?"

Other inscriptions of Viṣṇu-Vardhana give an exaggerated and doubtless partly fictitious account of his achievements, and it is by no means easy to sift the evidence.[112] To confine our attention to statements relating to his conquests from the Cōḷas, it is probable that Taḷakād (Rājarājapura), Nīlagiri, Nangili, Kōlāla, Tereyūr and Kōyāttūr[113] became subject to him as a result of Ganga-rāja's campaigns, and the same may be true of a part, though not the whole of Kongu; but the claim that Kāñcī obeyed his commands and that he squeezed, as if he held it in his hand, the southern Madhurāpura is not less incredible than his wars against Cakrakūṭa or Lāṭa. On the other hand there is some evidence of a raid into the heart of the Cōḷa country by the Hoysala forces in this period, evidence

[110] *EC.* ii, 240, (90).

[111] Cāmuṇḍa-Rāja according to R. A. Narasimhachar, *EC.* ii. Intr. p. 52.

[112] *BG.* I, ii, 495-98.

[113] This place is in the Chittoor District; it is not Coimbatore as Fleet (*ibid*, p. 496) thought. Cf. Rangachari i, p. 500.

which gives some colour to Viṣṇu-Vardhana's claim that he marched up to Rāmēśvaram. An inscription of Parākrama Pāṇḍya[114] states that several years before the date of the record, certain Paḷḷis of the temple at Āḍuturai rescued some of its images which were being carried to Haḷēbīḍ, and were rewarded by the grant of certain privileges which were renewed by Parākrama Pāṇḍya. It is probable that the unsuccessful attempt to remove images from Āḍuturai to Haḷēbīḍ was made in Viṣṇu-Vardhana's reign, and if this view is correct, the exaggerated statements of Viṣṇu-Vardhana's conquests in his inscriptions must have some basis in fact. In any event, the absence from the Mysore country of Kulōttunga's inscriptions after his forty-fifth year (1115) is sufficient proof of the transfer of Gangavāḍi from the Cōḷas to the Hoysalas as a result of the war; but even here the re-appearance of Vikrama Cōḷa's inscriptions in the Kōlār region and elsewhere shows that the Cōḷas managed either to retain or recover part of the province.

Trouble in Vēngī.

Towards the end of his reign, Kulōttunga lost much of his territory in another direction. The northern half of the Vengi kingdom, if not the whole of it, seems to have slipped from his hands and gone over to the empire of the Western Cāḷukya ruler Vikramāditya VI. That the latter was bent on making reprisals for his failure in the first war against Kulōttunga and that he kept up his enmity against Kulōttunga unabated is clear from

[114] 35 of 1913; *ARE.* 1913 II. 46-7. *PK.* p. 129.

the records of his reign. In A.D. 1084, Vikramāditya complains that the 'hostile Cōḷa does not come to the battle-field'.[115] In fact, Vikramāditya's plan was to take advantage of Kulōttunga's pre-occupation with affairs in the South and create a diversion in the North by proceeding against the kingdom of Vengi and its vassal states. From the history of the Viceroyalty of Vengi, we see that the efforts of the Western Cāḷukya ruler did not apparently have any tangible result up to the accession of Vikrama Cōḷa to that office about A.D. 1092-3. Soon after came the war against the chief of Kuḷam and against South Kalinga; these revolts were perhaps, at least in part, due to the intrigues of Vikramāditya. And so too might have been the defiance of the E. Ganga ruler Anantavarman Cōḍaganga which necessitated the second Kalinga war, the war against North Kalinga. It was not, however, till Vikrama Cōḷa was summoned to the south in A.D. 1118, by the aged Kulōttunga to become the heir-apparent to the Cōḷa throne, that the troubles that had long been gathering against Kulōttunga in the north came to a head. The Piṭhāpuram inscription of Mallapadēva,[116] dated Ś. 1124 (A.D. 1202), makes the definite statement that after the marvellous (*apūrvapuruṣō*) Kulōttunga had ruled for fifty years the five Drāviḍas together with the Andhra country, when Vikrama Cōḷa went to rule the Cōḷa country, the land of Vengi at once fell into a state

[115] *EI.* xv, pp. 101, 103.
[116] *EI.* iv, No. 33, vv. 22-4.

of anarchy (*Vengi-bhūmir-nāyaka-rahitā jātā*).[117] This statement throws much welcome light on the contemporary inscriptions of the Andhra country relating to the close of Kulōttunga's reign and the period of Vikrama Cōḷa's rule as Cōḷa king.

Kulōttunga's inscriptions are found in Drākṣārāma in a continuous series up to his forty-ninth year, A.D. 1118-19.[118] On the other hand, there are no inscriptions of Vikrama Cōḷa in the Northern Circars dated earlier than his ninth year (A.D. 1127), and even then they form a very limited number and are confined to the southern parts of the Vengi kingdom in the modern Guntur District.[119] Vikramāditya's inscriptions are found in considerable numbers in Drākṣārāma and are dated in the years of the Cāḷukya-Vikrama era which started from the commencement of his reign. The largest number of these inscriptions bear dates from 45 to 48, but earlier and later dates are not

[117] Krishna Sastri says: "The later Eastern Cāḷukya copper-plates excepting those of Cellūr, mention the fact that the Vengi country became devoid of a ruler subsequent to Vikrama Cōḷa's departure to the south, and Dr. Hultzsch surmised that this statement only suggested that the king's absence resulted in political troubles brought about by the growing influence of the Velanāṇḍu chiefs and the ambitious invasion of the Western Cāḷukya king Vikramāditya VI. The political troubles could not, however, have been of a very serious nature, for we find that the Cāḷukya-Cōḷa kings continued to assert their sovereignty, though perhaps in a lesser and more limited degree. A large number of inscriptions dated in their reigns mention the Velanāṇḍu subordinates, Gonka and his son Rājēndra." *ARE*. 1917, II, 25. By the Cellūr plates, Krishna Sastri obviously means the plates of Kulōttunga II dated Ś. 1056 for 1065 as Kielhorn rightly points out. *IA*. xiv. p. 56. *EI*. vii—Appendix—Kielhorn's List No. 574. I am unable to discover what the other copper-plates are which Sastri had in mind. Mallapadēva's inscription is a stone record. I think that in his impressionistic estimates of the political situation in this period in Vengi, K. Sastri has greatly underrated the effects of Vikramāditya's policy.

[118] 194, 341, 344 of 1893.

[119] 153 of 1897; 163 of 1897.

unknown either in Drākṣārāma or elsewhere in the Telugu country.[120] Many among these records are engraved by the Telugu feudatories of Vikramāditya who acknowledge their subordinate position either openly or implicitly, by naming their suzerain lord or by simply dating their records in the Cāḷukya-Vikrama era. It has to be remembered, however, that in some instances the use of the era may have been no more than the continuance of a habit even after the reason for it had disappeared. That Vikramāditya's rule did extend in this period over practically the whole of the Telugu country becomes clear from the provenance of his inscriptions. In Ś. 1039 (December, A.D. 1117), the Kākatīya chief Prōla of Anumakoṇḍa acknowledges the supremacy of the Western Cāḷukya ruler and records that the Anumakoṇḍa territory was conferred on his father Bēṭa sometime before by the same sovereign.[121] About a year later, in December A.D. 1118, Anantapālayya, the *daṇḍanāyaka* of Vikramāditya was, according to an inscription from Kommūru in the Guntur district, ruling over Vengi 14,000.[122] And about A.D. 1120, Anantapāla's wife made a gift to the celebrated shrine of Bhīmēśvara in Drākṣārāma.[123] Velanāṇṭi Rājēndra in the same year, and Mayilama, the wife of a Telugu Cōḍa chief, in the year after that, also made gifts in Drākṣārāma recorded

[120] 396 of 1893 bears the exceptionally early date 5, but does not contain any Cāḷukya titles or the name of Vikramāditya.

[121] 106 of 1902; *EI.* ix, p. 256.

[122] 819 of 1922.

[123] 330 of 1893.

in inscriptions dated in the Cāḷukya-Vikrama era.[124] Another Western Cāḷukya commander, a nephew of Anantapāla, was ruling Koṇḍapalli in the Krishna District, in A.D. 1127.[125] The inscriptions from Drākṣārāma bear dates in the Cāḷukya-Vikrama era up to 57, A.D. 1132-3. Towards the close of this period, about Ś. 1053 (A.D. 1131) a certain Nambirāja, son of Malla, ruled in apparent independence, over the Ṣaṭsahasra country to the south of the Kṛṣṇā river and styled himself Lord of Koḷḷipāka.[126] The Cāḷukya-Cōḷa power in Vengi was undoubtedly eclipsed by that of the Western Cāḷukya ruler Vikramāditya from A.D. 1118, and the Cōḷas were unable to regain even part of the territory so lost until after the death of Vikramāditya in A.D. 1126. Towards the close of Kulōttunga's reign, therefore, the extent of the Cōḷa empire had become much less than what it was at his accession. To the loss of Ceylon at the commencement of the reign was now added that of Gangavāḍi and Vengi, and the Cōḷa empire became a more or less purely Tamil power for the time being. In the prolonged duel between Vikramāditya and Kulōttunga, the former had the satisfaction, though belated, of carrying to a successful end his policy of breaking the union of the Vengi and Cōḷa thrones, and Kulōttunga had to acquiesce in the result which he had so long withstood but could no longer avert. The latest known inscription of

[124] 335, 345 of 1893.

[125] 258 of 1905; *EI.* ix, p. 261.

[126] 266 of 1893.

Kulōttunga mentions his fifty-second year,[127] showing that he lived up to A.D. 1122.

Titles.

Kulōttunga had various other names and titles. The name Rājēndra found mostly in the early records of the reign before the fifth year, sometimes makes its appearance in those of a later date.[128] A Rājakēsari by his place in Cōḷa succession, the Parakēsari title occurs in his inscriptions sometimes by mistake.[129] He is called Tribhuvana-cakravartin as early as the fifth year of his reign,[130] though this title is not systematically repeated as in the records of his successors. His inscriptions from the Telugu country give him, besides the usual Eastern Cāḷukya Sarvalokāśraya and Viṣṇu-vardhana, the titles,[131] Parāntaka, Permānaḍigaḷu, Vikrama-Cōḷa, Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya-Kulāntaka. The *Kalingattupparaṇi* calls him Virudarājabhayankara, Akalanka, Abhaya and Jayadhara.[132] The name Abhaya occurs also in an inscription from Sucīndram dated in the thirty-second regnal year,[133] while Jayadhara is found in inscriptions from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Peṇṇāḍam and Cidambaram.[134] Tirunīṟṟuc-Cōḷa seems

[127]Pd. 127.

[128]376 of 1908; 3 of 1909; 35 of 1929.

[129]268 of 1901; 425 of 1902.

[130]197 of 1919. *Contra SII.* iii, p. 131.

[131]*EI.* vi, pp. 220 ff. He is called Saptama Viṣṇu-vardhana though by no modern reckoning does he seem to be the seventh of the many Viṣṇu-vardhanas in the line.

[132]Kanakasabhai (*IA.* xix, p. 337), and after him, Hultzsch (*SII.* iii, p. 130), think that Karikāla is also among these titles. I doubt this. For Akalanka see *Paraṇi*, xiii, 89.

[133]*TAS.* iv, p. 130.

[134]109 of 1892; 121 of 1912; 271 of 1929; 119 of 1888.

to have been another surname of the king, as a *dēvadāna* village granted to a new temple at Triśūlam is called Tiruniṟṟuc-Cōḷa-nallūr in an inscription of the thirty-ninth year.[135] The name Śungandavirtta-śōḷa-nallūr occurs in an inscription of the twenty-eighth year,[136] and another record dated four years later gives the king the title: "*Śungan-davirttu iru-ṇīkki ulagāṇḍa,*" meaning 'who abolished the tolls and ruled the world after dispelling darkness'. Though there are many literary references to the abolition of tolls by the king,[137] none of them is calculated to throw any light on the exact nature and scope of the reform. The term *Śungam* is explained by Parimēlaḷagar to mean the tax (*iṟai*) on commodities carried in ships and carts,[138] and this explanation would include not only what we now call 'tolls', but 'customs' as well. Though the exact date of Parimēlaḷagar cannot be determined with certainty, his explanation of *Śungam* may be accepted as applicable to the time of Kulōttunga; one might even suggest that the annotator had Kulōttunga's reform in his mind when he wrote his gloss on the verse in the *Tiruk-kuṟaḷ*. However that may be, we have no means of deciding whether Kulōttunga did away with the tax on trade in one part only of his dominions or over the whole, and whether the abolition was permanent or only temporary and confined to a period following some occasion he wanted to celebrate by a boon to his subjects. On any of these alternatives, he would be entitled to the

[135] 312 of 1901.
[136] 374 of 1908.
[137] See *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, ed. Swaminatha Aiyar, p. 247, v. 775 and n.
[138] Comment on *Kuṟal* 756.

epithet '*Śungandavirtta*', but it is inconceivable that he meant to deprive the state permanently of a traditional and very profitable source of revenue. An inscription of A.D. 1194,[139] however, still refers to the Cōḷa-nāḍu as the country where no *Śungam* was collected. Perhaps the exemption was permanent, but confined only to the Cōḷa country proper. If this was so, the imperialism of the Cōḷas did not lack an economic side to it; it was not the purely military ideal of the *vijigīṣu* of the Arthaśāstras. It is curious how little the numberless inscriptions, which record a vast amount of detail on taxes and tax exemptions, assist us in obtaining a clear view of the prevailing tax-system or of the changes, if any, in taxation policy. That a land survey was undertaken in the sixteenth and fortieth years of Kulōttunga's reign is mentioned in the inscriptions of his successors and confirmed by an inscription of his forty-eighth year mentioning the name of one of the survey officers.[140]

Capital.

Kulōttunga's capital was Gangāpuri or Gangai-koṇḍa-śōḷa-puram.[141] The city next in importance was Kāñcīpuram where there was a royal palace with an *abhiṣēka maṇḍapa* whence the king issued several important grants.[142] Other places the presence of royal palaces in which finds specific mention in the inscriptions of the reign

[139]288 of 1907—*Śungamillāc-cōḷanāḍu Śōṟṟumalai kaṇḍaruḷi.*

[140]440 of 1912; 132 of 1930. Also 87 of 1900 mentioning *Śrī-pādakōl. ARE.* 1900, paragraph 25.

[141]*Kalingattupparaṇi*, xiii, 61; *Vikramānka-dēva-carita*, vi, 21.

[142]*SII*. iii, 73; *MAR*. 1917, pp. 42-4.

are: Āyirattaḷi,[143] Tirumaḻuvāḍi,[144] Muḍikoṇḍa-śōḻapuram,[145] and Vikramaśōḻapuram.[146]

Family.

The copper-plate grants state that Kulōttunga married Madhurāntaki, the daughter of Rājēndradēva of the Solar race, doubtless Rājēndra II Cōḷa. Considering that the sons born of this marriage became successively Viceroys of Vengi from A. D. 1077, it seems probable that this marriage alliance must have been contracted some years before Kulōttunga's accession to the Cōḷa throne. Madhurāntaki had seven sons of whom Vikrama Cōḷa, the successor of Kulōttunga, was perhaps the fourth.[147] She is not mentioned by name in any of the *praśastis* in the stone records; it is however, possible that, as the chief queen, she is referred to in them as *purana-muḻuduḍaiyāḷ* or *avani-muḻuduḍaiyāḷ*, 'the mistress of the whole world.' If this view is correct it follows that Dīnacintāmaṇi was also a surname of the same queen.[148] She seems to have died sometime before the thirtieth year of Kulōttunga when Tyāgavalli took her place as chief queen with the title *puvana-muḻuduḍaiyāḷ*. The *Kalingattupparaṇi*, it may be noted, only mentions her and Ēḻiśai-vallabhi,[149] and distinctly states that Tyāgavalli enjoyed the right to equal authority with the king. Ēḻiśai-vallabhi is also

[143] Leyden grant, *ASSI*. iv. p. 224, l. 4.

[144] 231 of 1916.

[145] 93 of 1910; 61 of 1925.

[146] 247 of 1901.

[147] *EI*. vi, p. 335. But see *SII*. iii, p. 179.

[148] *SII*. iii, 72, 1, 5 where she is mentioned as chief queen along with two others; Ēḻiśai-vallabhi and Tyāgavalli; also pp. 177-8.

[149] x, vv. 54, 55.

called Ēḻulagudaiyāḷ, 'the mistress of the seven worlds', both in the inscriptions and in the *Kalingattupparaṇi*. The same title is applied to Nambirāṭṭiyār Śīrāman Arumoḻi-nangai in an inscription[150] of the twenty-sixth regnal year; if this reference is also to the same queen, as most probably it is, her personal name must have been Arumoḻi-nangai. Other queens mentioned in the inscriptions are: Trailōkya-mahādēvi who endowed a lamp in the Ārpākkam temple in A.D. 1072, for the spiritual benefit of her mother Umai-nangai;[151] Sōḻan Sōṟuḍaiyāḷ *alias* Kāḍavan Mahādēvi, apparently a princess of Pallava extraction; Tribhuvanamādēvi *alias* Kampamādēvi, born in the asterism of Svāti, and a devotee of Viṣṇu, like another queen, Ādittan Āṇḍakuṭṭiyār *alias* Śōḻa Kulavalliyār, mentioned along with her in an inscription from Kāñcīpuram[152] (A.D. 1111). Two sisters of Kulōttunga, Kundavai and Madhurāntaki by name, are mentioned in the inscriptions from Cidambaram dated in the years A.D. 1114 and 1116.[153] Besides his seven sons by Madhurāntaki, Kulōttunga had, as we have seen, two daughters Rājasundari and Sūryavalli, married respectively into the royal houses of Kalinga and Ceylon. A fragmentary record from Mysore dated early in the reign, A.D. 1075, mentions a Piḻḻaiyār Ammangai Āḻvār who was yet another

[150]304 of 1907. The title alone without the personal name occurs again in 274 of 1927 in the forty-eighth year.

[151]138 of 1923.

[152]39 and 45 of 1921.

[153]117 and 119 of 1888.

daughter of Kulōttunga.[154] A certain Rājasūnu (prince) Mādhava presented a gold diadem to Śiva at Rāmagrāma about A.D. 1082;[155] the identity of this prince remains obscure.

Feudatories.

Many subordinates and feudatories of Kulōttunga are mentioned in his inscriptions, and the more important ones among them may be briefly noticed here. In the hilly regions in the North-West of South Arcot, there were the Malaiyamāns (mountain lords) who had the centre of their power in a place called Kiḷiyūr. These chieftains called themselves Cēdiyarāyar, rāyas (rajas) of the Cedi family. Periya-uḍaiyān *alias* Rājarājan,[156] Śandiran Malaiyan *alias* Rājēndra Śōḻan and his subordinates Sāvanasāyakan *alias* Malaiyakularājan,[157] Sūriyan Maravan[158] and Sūriyan Piraman Sahāyan[159] are the most noteworthy among these chieftains of Tirumunaippāḍi. There was also another Rājēndra-śoḻa-cēdiyarāyan, also called Nānūṟṟuvan Attimallan who figures in the records of the later years[160] of Kulōttunga and makes gifts of land impartially to the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkōyilūr and to the Śiva temple at Siddhalingamaḍam. Then there were the descendants of the Bāṇas, called Vāṇakōvaraiyar, serving in various

[154] *ARE.* 1912, II 25, suggests that she was his mother; but see 121 of 1888. *SII.* iv. 226, l. 4.

[155] 25 of 1922.

[156] 246 of 1902.

[157] 251 of 1902.

[158] 121 of 1900.

[159] 359 of 1902.

[160] 122 of 1900; 388 of 1909.

capacities in the different parts of the empire. In the region of Paḻuvūr in the hilly tracts of the Trichinopoly district to the south of the territory of the Malaiyamāns, there are inscriptions recording gifts by Śuttamallan Uttamaśōḻan *alias* Ilangēśvaran,[161] by Śuttamallan Śōḻakulasundaran *alias* Gangai-koṇḍa Śōḻa-Vāṇakōvaraiyar, and by his daughter Viccādari-āḻvār, the mother of Virudarāja-bhayankara Vāṇa-kōvaraiyar.[162] One wonders if Śōḻakulasundaran Kaliyāṇapuran-goṇḍār, who was holding a high office in Tuṇḍa-nāḍu in the thirtieth year of Kulōttunga, was the same as the Śuttamallan noticed above; the title Kaliyāṇapurangoṇḍār has been explained as implying that he took part in the war against Vikramāditya VI.[163] A Tamil inscription from Drākṣārāma of A.D. 1095[164] mentions a nobleman of Tañjai by name Pañcanadi-vāṇan and his son Muḍikoṇḍān, perhaps the same as the general who is mentioned in the *Kalingattupparaṇi*[165] along with another Vāṇakōvaraiyan as assisting Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān in the expedition against Kalingam. In A.D. 1108 a Bāṇarāja ordered Māliruñjōlai, a Śūdra *mantri* with Vaiṣṇava leanings, to build a beautiful *maṇḍapa* in front of the Viṣṇu temple at Peṇṇāḍam in the South Arcot district.[166] In the Kongu country including parts of modern Mysore, there was the ancient line of Adigar or Adigaimāns with

[161] 396 of 1924; also 389, 392 and 393.
[162] 246 of 1926; 105 of 1895.
[163] 242 of 1929; *ARE.* 1929, II, 33.
[164] 416 of 1893.
[165] xi, v. 54.
[166] 271 of 1929.

their capital at Tagaḍūr (Dharmapuri) and they, as we have seen, defended the Cōḷa interest in this part of the country against aggressions from the rising power of the Hoysalas and fought hard, though without success, against the Hoysala general Gangarāja. One of them is mentioned in A.D. 1080 as engaged in the more peaceful occupation of appointing a worshipping priest for reviving worship in two old and ruined temples in Dharmapuri.[167] Among the vassals in the southern country, the Pāṇḍya king Śrīvallabha and an Adalaiyūr-nāḍāḷvān are mentioned in Kulōttunga's inscriptions of the thirty-sixth and fortieth years, and some Pāṇḍyan inscriptions mentioning these vassals also cite the regnal years of Kulōttunga.[168] A certain Piḷḷaiyār Viṣṇuvardhana at whose instance the king makes a large land grant to the Viṣṇu temple at Tiruvēndipuram in A.D. 1093[169] is otherwise unknown, and so is also a Piḷḷaiyār Vīraśōḷadēvar, perhaps the son of Kulōttunga, mentioned in an inscription of the same date from North Arcot, with his wife, Villavan Mahādēvi, who was the daughter of a feudatory (*araiśartalaivan*) Nīlagangan Acalavīman.[170] An inscription from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr dated A.D. 1100,[171] mentions Ñānamūrti-paṇḍita *alias* Madhurāntaka Brahmādhirāja of the Vatsa-gotra, a native of Nālūr and *sēnāpati* of the Emperor. Śīyagangan with the usual Ganga titles made a gift of land to a Śiva temple

[167] 307 of 1901.
[168] 402 of 1930; 28 and 35 of 1909. *PK.* p. 122.
[169] 136 of 1902.
[170] 300 of 1897; *SII.* iii, 59.
[171] 119 of 1912.

at Vāḷaikkāḍu in the Chittoor district,[172] A.D. 1101. Kēraḷakēsari Adhirājādhirājadēva whose gifts to the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkaṇṇapuram (Tanjore district) are recorded in A.D. 1106 was perhaps a Kēraḷa subordinate of Kulōttunga ;[173] a certain Bhāradvājan Māṟa-nārāyaṇan *alias* Vīrasantōṣa Brahma Cakravartin of Tiruppattūr is mentioned as a minister alike of this Cēra Prince and of his over-lord Kulōttunga. A Ganga-nuḷamba chieftain is mentioned in a record from Minkibanda, North Arcot, in A.D. 1109, as the *maṇḍalika* of the Muḷ-vāy-rājya, apparently comprising portions of North Arcot and Mysore in this period.[174] Among the feudatories in the Telugu country, the most notable was the Velanāṇṭi chief Gonka I, the son of Nanna, a general of E. Cāḷukya Rājarāja I, and Guṇḍāmbikā. Gonka I was appointed early in the reign of Kulōttunga to the chieftaincy of the Ṣaṭsahasra country over which his descendants held sway for quite a long time, and in the later grants of the Velanāṇḍu line, Gonka I is called Vamśakara.[175] Kulōttunga is said also to have treated Gonka's son Cōḍa as one of his own sons and invested him not only with the emblems of his sons (*svatanayajanacihnas*) but with the government of Vengimaṇḍala 16,000.[176] Towards the close of Kulōttunga's reign and in the early years of Vikrama Cōḷa, these chiefs found themselves

[172] 432 of 1929.

[173] 519 of 1922; *ARE*. 1923, II 33.

[174] 568 of 1906. For extent of Muḷvāyrājya see 251 of 1909, 196 of 1910; *EC*. x, p. xxxiv.

[175] *ARE*. 1917, II. 27.

[176] *EI*. iv, p. 42, vv. 34-35.

constrained, as has been seen already, to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Western Cāḷukyas. The Telugu-Cōḍa chief Pottappi Kāma-Cōḍa Mahārāju is mentioned in two inscriptions (A.D. 1112-3) from Tripurāntakam along with his *daṇḍanāyaka* Rāmaṇṇa and his *peggaḍa* Bhīmayya.[177] About the same period is mentioned another Telugu chieftain, mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Sūraparāju of Bīragoṭṭa along with his dēvi Sejama. He was undoubtedly of Pallava extraction, and though he called himself the ornament of the Nambi-kula, he bore the usual Pallava titles including Kāñcīpurēśvara.[178] Some years later, the Bīragoṭṭa chiefs also had temporarily to acknowledge Western Cāḷukya supremacy as is seen from a record of Bayyarāju, dated Ś. 1054 (A.D. 1132) and year 57 in the Cāḷukya-Vikrama era.[179]

The best known of Kulōttunga's lieutenants are the two Tamil generals of his army who played the leading part in the conquests of the southern countries and of Kalingam. The important services of Naralōkavīra in the southern wars are borne out not only by the *Vikramaśōḷan-ulā* and the laudatory inscriptions of Cidambaram and Tiruvadi in South Arcot, but by a number of inscriptions from the Pāṇḍya country which mention his titles and record gifts made by him. He was a highly respected official who enjoyed a large fief in Maṇavil and was responsible for many improvements

[177] 262, 263 of 1905. Venkayya's date A.D. 1106-7 (*IA*. xxxviii, p. 8) for D. 68 of *NI*. seems too early. The Śaka date is 1(069).

[178] 405 of 1893.

[179] 338 of 1893.

in the old temple cities of Cidambaram and Tiruvadi. He is called the prime-minister of Jayadhara and he continued to serve Vikrama Cōḷa after Kulōttunga's death.[180] For the career of the other great general who led the expedition against Northern Kalingam, we depend mainly on literary sources—the *Kalingattup-paraṇi* and *Vikramaśōḷan-ulā.*[181] Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān was apparently a descendant of the Pallavas, and true to the traditions of the Pallavas, Jayangoṇḍār describes him as born in the family descended from Brahmā.[182] He is generally called the ruler of Vaṇḍainagar, which is also called Vaṇḍāḷañjēri in Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Kulōttunga-śōḷa-vaḷanāḍu in the Śōḷamaṇḍalam,[183] and is now represented by Vaṇḍuvāñjēri[184] in the Kumbakōṇam taluq. The inscription from Kāñcīpuram, which records these details of the situation of the fief of Karuṇākara, also mentions the name of his wife Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷani-maṇḍaiyāḷvār. Karuṇākara had an elder brother whose flag displayed the usual Pallava emblem of a white bull, who assisted him in the Kalinga war,[185] and who is mentioned under the name Sēnāpati-Pallavaraśar in an inscription of

[180] See *Studies*, pp. 176 ff. for a detailed account of his life and achievement. The most noteworthy inscription discovered since is a Sanskrit inscription from Āttūr (Tinnevelly Dt.) recording the gifts of Mānāvatāra to the local temple (405 of 1930). *ARE.* 1930 II, 21.

[181] ll. 118-138. See Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar's *Kalingattupparaṇi-yārāycci.*

[182] xi 30. The reading of the third line should no doubt be "*maṟai moḻindu paḍi-marapin vanda kula*", not '*paḍi*'.

[183] 49 of 1893.

[184] Not Vaṇḍalūr in the Chingleput Dt. cf. Raghava Aiyangar, op. cit., pp. 34-6; contra *SII.* ii, p. 113, n. 3 and *IA.* xix, p. 340.

[185] *Paraṇi*, xi, 53.

A.D. 1099 from Tiruppanandāḷ.[186] From the reference in the *Vikramaśōḻan-ulā* it is clear that Karuṇākara, like Naralōkavīra, survived Kulōttunga, and served Vikrama Cōḷa for some years. This survey of the feudatories of Kulōttunga gives no account of the many officers employed in the various departments of the civil administration of the kingdom whose names are mentioned in the inscriptions of the reign.

[186] 46 of 1914.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SUCCESSORS OF KULŌTTUNGA I

A.D. 1120—63

Accession of Vikramacōḷa.

Vikramacōḷa's accession to the Cōḷa throne took place on or about the 29th June, A.D. 1118.[1] He must have ruled for some time jointly with his father, Kulōttunga, whose latest inscriptions are dated in the fiftieth year, A.D. 1120, or even the fifty-second.[2] The asterism of Vikramacōḷa's birth was Uttirāḍam in the month of Āni.[3] He inherited an attenuated empire confined to the Tamil country proper, and the seventeen years of his rule appear to have been on the whole a period of peace. A few inscriptions in the Ganga country, and a somewhat larger number from the Telugu area constitute the only proofs of the efforts made during the reign to recover lost ground—efforts crowned with better success in the North than in the Western country.

Praśastis.

The *praśastis* in Vikramacōḷa's inscriptions take two forms,[4] both dating from his second year and employed throughout the reign. The shorter form commences *pū mādu* (*magaḷ* in some versions) *puṇara,* and the longer one *pū mālai miḍaindu.* Neither of these

[1] *EI.* vii, pp. 4-5.
[2] 284 of 1923; 520 of 1920; 139 of 1902. *Ante,* p. 49.
[3] 285 of 1912.
[4] 408 of 1909 and 175 of 1911; 157 of 1925.

praśastis records any specific political event other than the war against Kalingam and Telinga Bhīman waged by Vikramacōḷa in the early years of his viceroyalty in Vengi.[5] The longer *praśasti* undergoes, in the later years of the reign,[6] an important modification by the insertion in its middle of a passage recording the constructions and endowments made by the king in the temple of Naṭarāja at Cidambaram ; this passage contains a definite date in the tenth regnal year, 15th April, A.D. 1128.[7] The inscriptions of Vikramacōḷa sometimes repeat passages and titles from those of Kulōttunga.[8]

Literature.

Besides the extant *Vikramaśōḻan-ulā,* the poet laureate Oṭṭakkūttan composed a *paraṇi* on the Kalinga war of Vikramacōḷa. We learn the name of the work from the two other *ulās* of the same poet, and its authorship from a gloss on his *Takkayāgapparaṇi.*[9] This work is not now available; if it is ever recovered, it is sure to

[5] Hultzsch (*SII.* iii, pp. 179-81) is inclined to distinguish, three periods in the career of Vikramacōḷa. I think, that a careful study of the syntax of the *pū mālai miḍaindu* introduction warrants the view that the Kalinga war was waged in the period of the Viceroyalty of Vengi.

[6] 502 of 1922, (Yr. 11).

[7] *EI.* vii, p. 5.

[8] *SII.* ii, p. 308, n. 4; *EI.* vi, p. 224.

[9] V. 776. It must be noted that Oṭṭakkūttan who mentions this *paraṇi* thrice in his works does not state that he wrote it. Hultzsch considers this a reference to the *Kalingattupparaṇi* of Jayangoṇḍār which, he says, describes the Kalinga war waged by Kulōttunga before A.D. 1095-6, (*SII.* iii, p. 180). In fact, Jayangoṇḍār's work had reference to the second Kalinga war of Kulōttunga's reign in which Vikramacōḷa seems to have had no part. The *Paraṇi* on Vikrama's war must have referred to the earlier occasion, (we have no evidence of any other war against Kalingam), and might have been composed by Kūttan sometime in the reign of Vikramacōḷa.

add considerably to our knowledge of this period so rich in quasi-historical works of literature.

Vēngī.

With the recall of Vikramacōḷa to the South in A.D. 1118, the administration of Vengi passed into the hands of the Velanāṇḍu prince Cōḍa, the son of Gonka I.[10] Very soon, however, the Western Cāḷukya King, Vikramāditya VI, took advantage of Vikramacōḷa's absence from Vengi to extend his sway into that kingdom and reduce the Velanāṇḍu chief to subjection. Soon after the death of Vikramāditya in A.D. 1126, Vikramacōḷa's supremacy was re-established in the southern half, if not the whole, of the Vengi country. At Cebrōlu in the Guntur district, in the heart of the region ruled over by Daṇḍanāyaka Anantapāla some years before, the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Nambaya, Lord of the city of Koḷḷipāka (Kulpak) and of the Ṣaṭsahasra country, acknowledged the overlordship of Vikramacōḷa in A.D. 1127.[11] From the same area, we have another inscription from Nīḍubrōlu dated Ś. 1054, the seventeenth regnal year of Vikramacōḷa, in which the Velanāṇḍu chiefs and their dependents continue to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Cōḷa emperor of the South.[12] The steps by which this restoration of Cōḷa supremacy in the North was effected are obscure, but the death of Vikramāditya VI, the effort put forth by Vikramacōḷa and the readiness of the Telugu chieftains to prefer the overlordship of the Cōḷas to that of the

[10] *EI.* iv, p. 42, vv. 34-5.
[11] 153 of 1897. See p. 48 *ante*.
[12] 163 of 1897.

Western Cāḷukyas must all have contributed in varying degrees to the restoration.

Gangavāḍi.

In another direction also, Vikramacōḷa seems to have made an effort, not so successful, to recover territory lost at the close of his father's reign. An inscription from Sugaṭūr, dated in the second year of the reign, records the construction of a temple by an official of Vikramacōḷa's army.[13] Another inscription of the tenth year from the same region in the Kōlār district records the construction of a *vimāna* in Maḍḍivāḷa-bēcirāk.[14] It is a natural inference that Vikramacōḷa re-established the Cōḷa power in the eastern part of Mysore.

Flood and Scarcity.

In the sixth year of the reign there was scarcity and distress consequent on a big flood which brought destruction to the villages and their crops. A fairly extensive tract of land in the North and South Ārcot districts seems to have felt the effects of the visitation. An inscription[15] of A.D. 1125 from Tiruvōttūr (North Arcot) records a flood and the consequent destruction of crops leading to the sale of some land by the ūr for raising money to pay the taxes of the year. In the same year, at Tiruvadi (South Arcot), the Mahāsabhā had to sell some of the common land for the same purpose on account of difficulty experienced in the payment of the land tax (*kaḍamaittaṭṭu*) for the sixth regnal year.[16] In a somewhat later record of the eleventh year from

[13] 175 of 1911—*EC*. x. Sd. 9.

[14] 467 of 1911—*EC*. x. Sp. 61.

[15] 87 of 1900.

[16] 30 of 1903.

Kōviladi (Tanjore District), the fact is mentioned that the village of Tiruppēr became deserted owing to the advent of bad times;[16a] it is not certain, however, that this vague statement has reference to the same conditions as those noted in the two inscriptions cited above; if that be so, the area affected by the distress must have extended into the Tanjore district also.

Gifts at Cidambaram.

In A.D. 1128, Vikramacōla signalised his devotion to his family deity, Naṭarāja of Cidambaram, by devoting the bulk of the revenue derived in the year to meet the cost of extensive additions to the structure of the Cidambaram temple and of sumptuous gifts to the shrine. The event is recorded in his inscriptions dating from the eleventh year in the following terms:

"Out of the heap of pure gold which had been brought and poured out before him by kings as tribute due for the tenth year (after the time) when a gold leaf (set with) royal gems was engraved (with the words): 'May (the King) live long (and) protect this great earth',[17] (he) covered (with) fine gold the enclosure, the gate towers, halls and buildings surrounding the shrine of pure gold where his family-God (viz. Naṭēśa) practises the *tāṇḍava* (dance), as if the splendid circular mountain surrounding the earth were combined with the Eastern mountain; covered (with) splendid gold the altar on which offerings abound, so that the light of heaven was reflected (by it); covered (with) pure gold and adorned with numerous strings of large round pearls the sacred car-temple, in order that, conferring long life on the delighted people, the miraculous dancer (viz. Naṭēśa)

[16a] 276 of 1901—*SII.* vii. 496. *Kālam pollādāy nammūr aḻindu kuḍi ōḍip-pōyk-kiḍandamaiyil.*

[17] See *SII.* iii. p. 185, n. 2. It is possible that the benediction engraved on a gold leaf or plate was repeated at the end of each regnal year as it was completed and a new year began.

who occupies the (golden) hall might be drawn in procession (at) the great festival called 'the festival of the great name' (*Perum-peyar-viḻā*) of the great (days of) Pūraṭṭādi and Uttiraṭṭādi, so as to cause prosperity (on) the great earth (and) joy to the Gods; was pleased to build a long temple street of mansions covered with jewels (!) and called (it) after his royal prosperous name; and made numberless splendid insignia, beginning with dishes cut of fine gold, together with a Kalpaka (tree) of pure gold. Having been pleased to make gladly many such (gifts) in the tenth year of his reign, (in) the month of Śittirai, on a Sunday which corresponded to Hasta, (on) the thirteenth *tithi* of the fortnight of the auspicious waxing moon,[18] (he) covered the whole earth under the shade of a single parasol."

We may not accept this high-flown account as literally true; but Cidambaram, the most celebrated of South Indian Śaiva shrines, had attracted the devotion of Cōḷa Kings as early as the reign of Parāntaka I, if not earlier; and after the foundation of Gangai-koṇḍa-cōḷa-puram and the transference of the capital of the kingdom from Tanjore to that place, Cidambaram rose in importance on account of its proximity to the new capital and the possibility of frequent royal visits to it. Tanjore and Tiruvārūr, which held the chief position in the days of Rājarāja I, now took a somewhat secondary place. It seems probable that Vikramacōḷa's buildings and gifts in Cidambaram were meant to complete an extensive remodelling of the temple, a remodelling begun by Naralōkavīra in the closing years of Kulōttunga's reign, and that this chieftain had much to do with the planning and execu-

[18] The date is: 15th April, A.D. 1128, Kielhorn, *EI.* vii, p. 5.

tion of Vikramacōḷa's projects in the holy city.[19] Later inscriptions call the first *prākāra* wall of the temple by the name Vikramaśōḷan-tirumāḷigai ;[20] and one of the main streets round the temple bears the name Vikramaśōḷan-tengu-tiruvīdi.[21] Though there is no epigraphical confirmation of the fact, the *Śrīrangam Kōyiloḷugu* states that Vikramacōḷa built the fifth wall surrounding the temple of Ranganātha at Śrīrangam, besides some other structures including a temple of Rāma.

Royal tours.

Some idea of the king's share in the control of the administration is gained from a study of his personal movements incidentally recorded in the inscriptions of the reign. That Gangai-koṇḍa-śōḷa-puram was the capital and therefore the normal place of royal residence is seen from an inscription which mentions a sēnāpati commanding at the outer gate (*puṟa-vāyil*) of the palace at Gangai-koṇḍa-śōḷa-puram.[22] In A.D. 1122 the king issues an order from Muḍi-koṇḍa-śōḷa-puram,[23] another name for Paḷaiyāṟu near Kumbakōṇam.[24] The year after, he spent some time in a maṇḍapa near a tank on the southern side of Vaṣāṟu *alias* Kunivalanallūr in the Kāliyūr Kōṭṭam, (Chingleput district).[25] In 1124 again, he was in the

[19] *Studies*, pp. 176 ff.

[20] 282, 284, 287 of 1913.

[21] 312 of 1913.

[22] 71 of 1926; *ARE*. 1926, II, 27.

[23] 168 of 1906.

[24] 271 of 1927.

[25] 229 of 1910; *ARE*. 1911, II, 27.

South Arcot district living in a palace at Vīranārāyaṇa-catur-vēdimangalam, i.e., Kāṭṭumannārkōyil.[26] Lastly, in the twelfth year, A.D. 1130, Vikramacōḷa is found living in a palace in Cidambaram.[27] It is thus clear that the king was constantly touring his territories and that there were palaces in the more important cities, besides maṇḍapas and other structures all over the country, ready to be used as camping places by the sovereign in his tours. The importance of such royal progresses for ensuring efficient administration in an autocratic mediaeval state can hardly be overrated and in undertaking them, Vikramacōḷa was no doubt following the regular practice of the Cōḷa rulers of this period.

His titles and Queens.

The most characteristic title of Vikramacōḷa is Tyāgasamudra, 'the ocean of liberality' which occurs in the inscriptions and in the *Vikramaśōḻan ulā*.[28] The Śevvelimēḍu Sanskrit inscription of the sixteenth year gives him the titles Tyāgavārākara, only a variant of the abovementioned title, and Akaḷanka, 'the spotless one,'[29] applied in the *Kalingattupparaṇi* to Kulōttunga I.[30] For the rest, we have seen, that some of his inscriptions exactly reproduce the titles of his father including even the Rājakēsari title, though in reality Vikrama was a Parakēsari. Two of his queens are mentioned prominently in the inscriptions, Mukkōkkiḻān and Tyāgapatākā, of whom the former was the chief till about

[26] 63 of 1918.
[27] 163 of 1902.
[28] 272-3 of 1907; 49 of 1931. *Ulā* ll. 431, 662, etc.
[29] *EI.* vi. pp. 227-30.
[30] ix. vv. 7, 16; xiii, v. 89.

A.D. 1126-27. After her death, Tyāgapatākā became chief queen.[31] Possibly Nambirāṭṭiyār Nēriyan-Mādēviyār who is mentioned together with her *ayapparivāram* (personal retinue) in an inscription of the sixth year[32] from Tiruviḍaimarudūr was a third queen, of whom we do not hear elsewhere.

Feudatories.

A large number of feudatory chieftains and officers are mentioned in the *Vikramaśōḻan-ulā* and in the inscriptions. The list of maṇḍalikas given in the *ulā* begins with the celebrated conqueror of Kalingam, Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān.[33] Then there are mentioned in order: the chief of the Munaiyar, minister and warrior of Abhaya; Śōḻakōn who distinguished himself in campaigns in the West against the Kongas, Gangas and Mahrathas;[34] the Brahmin Kaṇṇan of the great fortress; Vāṇan, dexterous in the use of his beautiful bow in battle, possibly the same as Śuttamallan Muḍikoṇḍān *alias* Vāṇakōvaraiyar whose *dēvi* Elvār-kuḻali endowed a lamp at Tiruvaḍatturai in A.D. 1120;[35] Kālingar-kōn *alias* Naralōkavīra who fought with distinction, as already noted, in the southern wars of Kulōttunga's reign and was afterwards a great builder; the Kāḍava who rode a rutting elephant and was Lord of the Śeñjiyar of the strong embattled fortress;[36] the king of Vēṇāḍ (South

[31] *SII.* iii, pp. 181-2.

[32] 136 of 1895.

[33] ll. 119 ff.

[34] Curiously enough the Kalingar are also included in the list.

[35] 229 of 1929. A certain Kulōttunga-cōḻa-Mahābali Bāṇarāja of Tiruvārūr claimed descent from the minister of the legendary Cōḻa king Manu. (164 of 1894).

[36] This is perhaps the earliest mention of the fortress of 'Gingee'. Śeñji is called a dēvadāna of Tiruvēkambam Uḍaiyār in 159 of 1930.

Travancore) who banished Kali from the earth (by good rule); Anantapāla whose charities were well-known from the Kumari to the Ganges, perhaps the same as the Sēnāpati Śankaran Ambalam-kōyil Koṇḍān *alias* Anantapālar who made a large endowment at Tiru-vāḍutuṟai in A.D. 1121;[37] the Vattava whose fierce elephant battered down the three ramparts of Northern Maṇṇai which belonged to hostile kings;[38] the lord of the sacred Cēdi country who destroyed the fortifications of the Karṇāṭas in a fierce fight;[39] the chief of Kāránai (?) ever victorious in war; Adigan who cut to pieces the army of North Kalinga and compelled the proud kings who had vowed war to seek refuge in flight;[40] a Nuḷamba-Pallava who had earned distinction in fights at Kōṭṭār and Kollam belonging to the Pāṇḍyas; the Trigarta who subdued Kongu and Coorg, and others including the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa of whom no details are given and some of whom like the Māgadha and Māḷava are introduced with no apparent historical justification. From the inscriptions we can gather the names of the following feudatory chieftains

[37] 71 of 1926.

[38] Maṇṇai is perhaps Mālkhed. But we cannot say when this event took place. 416 of 1893 calls Muḍikoṇḍān, whose elephant is specially mentioned, the king of the Vattar.

[39] By the Cēdi country the poet means the land of the Cēdirāyas, the hilly area round about Tirukkōyilūr, Kiḷiyūr, etc. In the inscriptions there are three Malaiyamān chieftains mentioned: (1) Malaiyamān Tirukkala Maṟundan Āḷvangakāra Malaiyamān, (408 of 1909); (2) Ubaiyan *alias* Vikramacōḷa-cēdiyarāyan (286 of 1902: 371 of 1908); and (3) Śūṟṟiyan Rāman *alias* Rājēndraśōḷa Malaiyakularājan (177 of 1906; called Malaiyan Mallan in 373 of 1908).

[40] Adigan's part in the Kalinga war is not mentioned in the *Kalingattupparaṇi* or the inscriptions. It should be remembered, however, that another *Kalingapparaṇi* by Oṭṭakkūttan is no longer accessible.

and families of the Tamil country: Śūrai Nāyakan *alias* Mādhavarāyan, son of Arumbākkiḻān Ponnambalakkūttan *alias* Naralōkavīra;[41] the Śāmbuvarāyas of the Śeṅgēṇi line, afterwards an important dynasty of quasi-independent rulers in the region of North Arcot, represented in this reign by Ammaiyappan whose wife endowed a *maṭha* at Tiruvallam in A.D. 1123[42] and who was perhaps the same as Śeṅgēṇi Nālāyiravan Ammaiyappan *alias* Rājēndraśōḻa Śāmbuvarāyan of other records,[43] and Rājanārāyaṇa after whom Kalavai was named Rājanārāyaṇa-caturvēdi-maṅgalam;[44] Śuṇḍan Gangaikoṇḍān *alias* Tuvarāpati Vēḷān who maintained a large force of swordsmen (*vāḷilār*) whom he seems to have employed on constant military duty in the neighbourhood of Śivapuri (Ramnad district);[45] a certain Pāṇḍi-nāḍu-koṇḍān, one of whose gifts is recorded at Tiruveḷḷarai in A.D. 1133;[46] and the Śaḷukkis of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam residing at Ānaivāri.[47] Likewise the following are noteworthy among the vassals in the Telugu area: Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Bettarasa ruling in Pottappi-nāḍu in A.D. 1121,[48] who seems to have been succeeded in the charge of that province by Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vimalādityadēva *alias* Madhurāntaka Pottappic-cōḷa, son of Siddarasa and descendant of

[41] 128 of 1930.
[42] 232 of 1921.
[43] 422 of 1922; 400 of 1922; 63 of 1900.
[44] 229, 230 of 1901.
[45] 47 of 1929.
[46] 521 of 1905.
[47] 378 of 1913.
[48] 583 of 1907.

Karikāla;[49] Kannaradēva *alias* Rājēndraśōḷa Pottap-pic-cōḷan, son of Kāmarasar, mentioned in an inscription from Kāḷahasti in A.D. 1130;[50] Kongayan (Velanāṇṭi Gonka II), son of Rājēndra-śōḷa Gāngēyarājan of Veḷi-nāḍu (Velanāḍu), who is mentioned in inscriptions from Kāḷahasti together with his minister Vāśanan,[51] and whose *daṇḍādhipa* and *mātula* Mārāya Paṇḍa extended his power greatly by conquest and annexation and built a fine Śiva temple at Ikṣupalli;[52] nambaya, Lord of Koḷḷipāka, already mentioned;[53] and Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Ghaṭṭidēva-mahārāja *alias* Vikramaśōḷa Kaṇuppāṛuḍaiyār Puḍōli-yaraiyar[54] who is mentioned in an inscription of the reign from Kāḷahasti and who was doubtless of the same family of feudatories as Nāraṇadēva, a contemporary of the Cōḷa emperor Vīrarājēndra,[55] and the later Yādavarāyas who described themselves as Śaśikula-caḷukkis.

Kulōttunga II.

Kulōttunga II must have been chosen as heir-apparent by his father Vikramacōḷa sometime in May-July A.D. 1133 as his regnal years are counted in his inscriptions from this date as the starting point.[56] Vikramacōḷa's rule

[49] 579 of 1907, (A.D. 1125): 100 of 1922. Siddharasa was the elder brother of Bettarasa. Vimalāditya had a son, Sōmēśvara, who built a *gōpura* at Nandalūr, (611 of 1907).

[50] 102 of 1922.

[51] 103, 108 of 1922. *ARE.* 1922, II, 20.

[52] 163 of 1897.

[53] Ante, pp. 48, 63.

[54] 155 of 1922.

[55] 266 of 1904.

[56] *EI.* x, p. 138; xi, p. 287.

continued for a period of about two years thereafter. The *praśastis* in his inscriptions take many forms, all of them purely rhetorical and in hyperbolical praise of the excellence of his rule, but not vouchsafing a single fact of the history of the reign.[57] In one inscription he is described as 'the king who wore the crown in such wise as to add lustre to Tillainagar'.[58] This may mean that Kulōttunga II celebrated a coronation in the city of Cidambaram[59] or that in the reign of Kulōttunga II, the city of Cidambaram was vastly improved and beautified. The renovation of the temple and city of Cidambaram is, in fact, the best known event of the reign and is explicitly mentioned for the first time in an inscription of the seventh year from Tiruppuṛambiyam,[60] though a title based on this act occurs as early as the third year. The *Kulōttunga-śōḻan-ulā* gives an elaborate account of the remodelling of the Cidambaram temple carried out by Kulōttunga.[61] It starts by saying that with his peerless queen who had the right to share the honours of the throne with him, Kulōttunga went and worshipped the Dancing Śiva of

His works at Cidambaram.

[57]The beginnings of the chief forms of the *praśastis* with the time of their earliest occurrence may be noted:

Pū mannu pāvai—56 of 1893 of the 2nd year;
Pū maruviya puvi ēḻum—85 of 1895 of the same year.
Pū mēya (mēvi) vaḷar—422 of 1904 of the same year;
Pū mannu padumam—255 of 1929 of the 3rd year;
Pū mēvu tirumagaḷ—572 of 1907 of the 8th year; and
Pū mannu yāṇar—83 of 1895 of the 15th year.

See also *ARE*. 1913, II, 35.

[58]155 of 1902.

[59]The *Periyapurāṇam* (Caṇḍēśura v. 8)—mentions that five cities shared the honour of witnessing the coronations of Cōḷa kings.

[60]350 of 1927. *ARE*. 1927, II, 24.

[61]ll. 69-116.

Cidambaram, and that he removed the little God (Viṣṇu) from the courtyard of the Sacred Hall of Tillai.[62] The new constructions undertaken and carried out by the king are then detailed. These include *gōpurams* with seven tiers and the shrine of the goddess which delighted her heart so much by its size and its splendour that she did not think any more of the sacred mountain (Himalaya) that gave birth to her. Various parts of the temple and the city are also said to have been 'covered with gold'. The same facts are recorded more briefly in the *Rājarāja-śōḻan-ulā*[63] and the *Takkayāgap-paraṇi*,[64] by the same poet. It is not clear in what relation these works attributed to Kulōttunga II stand to those attributed to Vikramacōḷa in his inscriptions dating, as noticed above, from his eleventh year. We have perhaps to assume that the work started in Vikramacōḷa's reign, if not earlier, was not completed till some years after the accession of Kulōttunga II.[65]

[62] 363 of 1907 seems to open with a reference to this fact and this part of the inscription seems to have been wantonly damaged as the rest of it is in excellent preservation. Perhaps the earliest reference to the relative positions of the shrines of Gōvindarāja and Naṭarāja in Cidambaram is that of Māṇikkavāśagar in his *Tirukkōvaiyār* v. 86. Several ancient temples appear to have had shrines both to Śiva and Viṣṇu, and there seems to have been at one period a deliberate attempt to harmonise the relations between the followers of the two deities, an attempt giving rise to the cult of Śankaranārāyaṇa. The sectarianism of a later age proved itself intolerant of the eclectic arrangements of an earlier time, and Cidambaram in particular has been the scene of unfortunate and acrimonious litigation in recent years between the custodians of the two shrines, who are perpetuating the bad tradition started, so far as we know, by Kulōttunga II.

[63] ll. 58-66.

[64] vv. 777, 808-10.

[65] *ARE*. 1913, II, 34; 1927, II, 24.

Peaceful reign.

The reign of Kulōttunga appears to have been a period of peace, good government and prosperity. There is no record of any warfare, and in fact, with the exception of the removal of the shrine of Gōvindarāja from its place in Cidambaram indicating the growth of sectarian intolerance, we hear of nothing calculated to disturb the tranquillity of life in the Cōḷa dominions. The extent of the empire was maintained as it was at the close of Vikramacōḷa's reign, and the Cellūr plates show, if anything, that the restoration of Cōḷa suzerainty in the North after its temporary eclipse by the spread of Western Cāḷukya rule was complete and stable. The inscriptions of this reign from the Telugu country are more numerous than those of the preceding one. Some of the best work in Tamil literature was produced in this period, and Oṭṭakkūttan, Śēkkiḻār and Kamban were all patronised by Kulōttunga II and his vassals.

Capital, titles, etc.

Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḻapuram continued to be the capital of the kingdom[66] though Kulōttunga, as we have seen, had a partiality for Cidambaram. The king is stated to have been residing in his palace at Vikrama-śōḻa-puram in the third year of his reign.[67] Two queens of Kulōttunga are mentioned in an inscription of his second year from Tirumalavāḍi: the chief queen being Tyāgavalli also called Bhuvanamuḻu-duḍaiyāḷ, and the other Mukkōkkiḻān, a princess of the

[66] *Kulōttungaśōḻan ulā*, l. 118.

[67] 271 of 1915; 533 of 1921.

family of Malāḍas (Malaiyamāns).[68] Of the titles borne by the king, Anapāya is the most characteristic and occurs not only in the inscriptions and in the *ulā* on him, but is also borne by his secretary Anapāya-mūvēndavēḷān who attests the king's orders. In several places lands granted by the king were designated Anapāya-nallūr.[69] He is also called: 'the Perumāḷ who covered the Sacred Pērambalam with gold',[70] 'Tiru-niṟṟuccōḷa', a title also borne by Kulōttunga I and hence the cause of some confusion in regard to the date of Śēkkiḻār,[71] Edirili-śōḻa and Kalikaḍinda-śōḻa.[72] The inscriptions of the reign of Kulōttunga, like those of Vikramacōḷa, record several gifts by his subordinates and feudatories, and of these the following are noteworthy. Among Śengēṇi chieftains, there was besides Nālāyiravan Ammaiyappan[73] who has been noticed already under Vikramacōḷa, a certain Ammaiyappan Kaṇṇuḍaipperumāḷ *alias* Vikramaśōḻa Śāmbuvarāyan.[74] It is perhaps worthy of note that Kaṇṇuḍaipperumāḷ appears to have been the son of Śengēṇi Ammaiyappan; the aliases of the father and son, Rājēndraśōḻa and Vikramaśōḻa, appear to indicate that the Śengēṇi chiefs followed the habit of calling their male children after the ruling Cōḷa sovereign whose feudatories they

[68] 85 of 1895.

[69] 271 of 1915; 533 of 1921; 346 of 1911 and 531 of 1912 mention an officer Anapāya Mūvēnda Vēḷān.

[70] 157 of 1902.

[71] 363 of 1911; 312 of 1901, and *Śen Tamiḻ*, xxv. pp. 271-5, *ARE*. 1912, II, 27.

[72] 255 of 1929; 380 of 1908.

[73] 298, 302 of 1929.

[74] 302 of 1897; 343 of 1912; 422 of 1921. *ARE*. 1913, II, 40.

were. Mōhan Āḷkkolli *alias* Kulōttunga-śōḷak-kāḍava-rāyan was a chieftain of Pallava extraction who had charge of the policing of a small area near Tirumāṇikuḷi in the South Arcot district about A.D. 1136.[75] In the course of the next few years this Kāḍava chieftain attained a more important position and his inscriptions appear in different places like Tiruṇāmanallūr, Tiruvadi and Vṛddhācalam, and in them he is given many names and titles expressive of his growing importance; and his gifts and charitable works also become more ostentatious. In 1140, he presents gold ornaments and silver vessels to Tiruttoṇḍiśvara at Tirunāmanallūr and he bears the names Kūdaḷūr Paḷḷi-Āḷappiṟandān Mōhan and Kulōttunga-śōḷak-kacciya-rāyan.[76] About the same time he presented a jewelled necklace to the deity of Tiruvadi.[77] Five years later, he made over to the temple at Tiruvadi the *perumbāḍikāval* on some lands and properties, and he bears now the additional titles Paññāka Muttaraiyan Āḷappiṟandān Araśanārāyaṇan,[78] and Kūḍalūr is stated to be situated in Perugaḷūr-nāḍu of Tirumunaippāḍi. In 1146, he made over to the Tiruvadi temple some further taxes and dues from three *dēvadāna* villages located in his beat, and on this occasion he styled himself Kūḍalūr Paññāka Muttaraiyan Āḷappiṟandān Ēḷiśaimōhanāna Kulōttunga-śōḷa Kāḍavarāyan.[79] Lastly in A.D. 1148,

[75] 157 of 1902.

[76] 374 of 1902.

[77] 391 of 1921; see also 467 of 1921 (Tiruveṇṇainallūr). At *ARE*. 1922, II, 39 the former record is assigned to the reign of Kulōttunga III with confusing results.

[78] 45 of 1903.

[79] 46 of 1903.

he built a maṇḍapa called Ēḻiśai-mōhan for the *mahāsnapana* of the deity at Vṛddhācalam, and in recording this act he called himself Āḷappiṟandān Ēḻiśaimōhan *alias* Kulōttunga-śōḷa Kāḍavar-Ādittan.[80] These records reveal to us the beginnings of the feudatory family from which sprang the celebrated Kōpperuñjinga whose boisterous career shook the Cōḷa empire to its foundations and hastened its downfall. The policing of another part of the same district was held by Rājarāja Magadai-nāḍāḻvān, one of the minor Bāṇa chieftains who ruled in the Magadai-nāḍu, or Naḍu-nāḍu as it is called in Tamil literature.[81] Of the Malaiyamān or Cēdi chieftains of the region round Tirukkōyilūr, mention is made of Vikramacōḷa-cēdiyarāyan and his son Vikramacōḷa Kōvalarāyan,[82] and Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamān Kulōttunga-śōḷa Cēdiya-rāyan.[83] Two other feudatories of the Tamil country mentioned most casually in the inscriptions of the reign are a Nuḷambar and an Adiyamān.[84] A Ganga chieftain Śīyagangan with the usual birudas of his family is found making a gift to the temple at Kāḷahasti[85] about A.D. 1147. In the same region the Yādavarāyas occupy a position of some eminence as one of them Ghaṭṭidēva *alias* Kulōṭṭunga-śōḷa-yādavarāya made the gift of a whole village for feeding Brahmins, *tapasvis* and others in the temple (1139 A.D.)[86]

[80] 137 of 1900.
[81] 14 of 1903.
[82] 285 of 1902.
[83] 284 of 1902.
[84] 35 of 1920; 308 of 1901.
[85] 93 of 1922.
[86] 83 of 1922. Perhaps the earliest known member of this family is Nāraṇadēva of an inscription of Vīrarājēndra's reign from Yōgi Mallavaram. (266 of 1904).

The inscriptions from Vengi-dēśa mention Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Ballaya Cōḍa whose queen made an endowment of six *cāmaramāḍas* for a lamp in the temple at Bāpatla in Ś. 1057 (A.D. 1135);[87] Velanāṇṭi Cōḍa whose queen Guṇḍāmbikā also endowed a lamp in the same place the next year;[88] Velanāṇṭi Kulōttunga Cōḍa Gonka by whom Gonka II seems to be meant—for (1) a relative of his endowed a lamp at Drākṣārāma in Ś. 1061 (A.D. 1139),[89] (2) Sōmāṇḍiyamma, a queen of his, made a gift to the temple of Bhāvanārāyaṇa at Prēmpalli[90] in Ś. 1066 (A.D. 1145), (3) he made a considerable gift by himself, at Kāḷahasti about A.D. 1146,[91] and in the company of a Tribhuvanamalla Cōḍa Mahārāja at Konidena in 1148;[92] Paṇḍarāja, apparently a brother of Gonka II, whose wife Nāgāmbikā gave twelve *birudamāḍas* for a lamp in the temple at Bāpatla;[93] Kaṇḍravāṭi Bhīmarāja who gave lands to the dancing girls attached to the Śaktīśvara temple at Nutakki in Ś. 1059 (A. D. 1137),[94] and Tribhuvanamalla Cōḍamahārāja, (mentioned above), who makes a gift to the temple at Konidena;[95] Kāṭamanāyaka of Kolanu who gave away a whole village as *brahmadēya* in A.D. 1143,[96] and who seems to be

[87] 210 of 1897. *ARE*. 1900, paragraph 47.

[88] 182 of 1897. The text is restored as Gonka in *SII*. vi. 142: I think it must be Cōḍa.

[89] 227 of 1893, *contra*, *EI*. iv. p. 38; but see *ARE*. 1917, II, 27.

[90] 174 of 1897.

[91] 123 of 1922.

[92] 189 of 1899.

[93] 176 of 1897.

[94] 116 of 1917.

[95] 185 of 1899; *ARE*. 1900, paragraph 47. *NI*. O: 142. Also n. 92

[96] Cittūr plates—*IA*, xiv. pp. 56 ff.

identical with the Kollūrinātha Bhīma whose wife Mēḍama endowed a lamp at Prēmpalli in Ś. 1067 (A.D. 1145)[97] and with the Mahāmaṇḍalika Bhīmanāyaka, Vengi-dēśa-cāḷukya-ankakāra, whose Sandhivigrahin Sōmaya Preggaḍa's gifts to various temples are recorded in an inscription of A.D. 1147 at Bāpatla;[98] and lastly, Madhurāntaka Pottappiccōḷa Siddharasa, one of whose inscriptions[99] found at Nandalūr clearly attests the extent of the Cōḷa empire in that direction. A curious inscription from Tirugōkarṇam in the Pudukkōttah state mentions a clan of Brahmins who exercised the right of crowning kings and who had been settled in the Ten-kavira-nāḍu by the king Kiḷḷi who had a regard for their ancient connection with the great city of Tuvarai (Dvārakā).[100] The presence in the Pāṇḍya country of Lambakarṇas with special duties at the coronation of a king is noticed in the *Mahāvamsa.*[101]

Rājarāja II.

The latest regnal year found in the inscriptions of Kulōttunga II is the sixteenth or the seventeenth; this means his reign came to a close about A.D. 1150. Some four years before this date, he associated his son[102] Rājarāja II in the actual conduct of the administration, and in the inscriptions of Parakēsari Rājarāja his regnal years are counted from some date after the 6th April in A.D. 1146.[103] Of

[97] 168 of 1897.
[98] 172 of 1897.
[99] 572 of 1907.
[100] 411 of 1902; Pd. 120.
[101] *CV.* ch. 77. v. 28 and n. 1.
[102] *Rājarāja-śōḷan-ulā*, ll. 66-7.
[103] *EI.* ix, p. 210.

the reign of Rājarāja II many inscriptions have been preserved which contain a number of *praśastis* which attest the extent of his kingdom and disclose the names and positions of a number of feudatories. Judging from the silence of these inscriptions on the military transactions of the reign, one may infer that, like the reign of Kulōttunga II, that of Rājarāja II was generally peaceful. The most common *praśasti* of the reign is that commencing *pū maruviya tirumādum* which gives a high-flown account of the benefits of Rājarāja's rule and appears for the first time in inscriptions of the third year.[104] This mentions one queen who is called Avanimuḻududaiyāḷ and is said to have sat on the throne along with the king. Much longer, but equally unhistorical, is another *praśasti*, also dating from the third year;[105] this commences *pū maruviya poḻil ēḻum* and, among other things, emphasises the flourishing condition of Tamil literature in the reign by calling the king *muttamiḻkkut-talaivan*, the patron of the three-fold Tamil;[106] three queens are mentioned at the end of this *praśasti* besides Avanimuḻududaiyāḷ mentioned above, two of these being called by the almost identical titles Bhuvana-muḻududaiyāḷ and Dharaṇi-muḻududaiyāḷ, and the third Ulagudai Mukkōkkiḻān, doubtless the same as the queen mentioned in two other inscriptions of the fourteenth and seventeenth years of the reign.[107] Two other *praśastis*

[104] 465 of 1919.

[105] 243 of 1930.

[106] Iyal, Iśai, and Nāḍagam—roughly prose and poetry, song and drama.

[107] 16 of 1903; 369 of 1911. Bhuvanamuḻududaiyāḷ is also mentioned in *Rājarājan ulā*, l. 78.

also occur in the inscriptions of the reign, and they begin *puyal vāyttu vaḷam peruga*[108] and *kaḍalśūḻnda pār mādar.*[109] The former occurring in a record of the fifth year of Rājarāja II was subsequently adopted by Kulōttunga III in whose inscriptions an account of his Pāṇḍyan invasion is inserted in the body of this rather short introduction. Likewise the latter, occurring in a record of Rājarāja's tenth year, becomes the chief *praśasti* of the reign of Rājādhirāja II, and it is noteworthy that the queen mentioned at the end of this *praśasti* is called Ulagudai Mukkōkkiḻān-aḍigaḷ in the inscriptions both of Rājarāja and Rājādhirāja,[110] a clear proof that this is a title, not the personal name, of the chief queen.

Extent of empire.

The extent of the empire under Rājarāja's rule is borne out by the provenance of his inscriptions. An inscription[111] of the seventh year from Kendatti recording the construction of a temple by a Kāḍuveṭṭi chieftain on a hill at Śūṟūr in Kuvaḷāla-nāḍu, the mention in a fragmentary record[112] from the Salem district of Tagaḍūr-nāḍu in Ganga-nāḍu, a sub-division of Nigarili-śōḷa-maṇḍalam, and a gift recorded at

[108] 165 of 1908.

[109] 219 of 1901. *ARE.* 1909, II, 48-50, discusses the relations between Rājarāja II, Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttunga III as seen from these *praśastis.* It is said there: 'It must be noted that the titles Rājakēsari and Parakēsari are applied to these kings indiscriminately'. I do not think this is correct; there are, of course, a few mistakes in some records where one title appears for another; but their number is not enough to warrant the general observation cited above. See also *ARE.* 1904, para. 21.

[110] Cf. 219 of 1901 and 538 of 1904.

[111] 486 of 1911.

[112] 18 of 1900.

Perumbēr[113] in A.D. 1164 by a person who calls himself Tagaḍūr Kiḻavan, show that in Kongu and the eastern part of the Ganga country, the Cōḷa hegemony still continued to be recognised in some manner. In the Telugu country, Rājarāja's suzerainty is clearly attested by a fair number of stone inscriptions found throughout the Vengi country up to Drākṣārāma,[114] though it is clear that the feudatory chiefs of Velanāṇḍu were becoming more and more independent and overbearing. As a matter of fact, from the close of the reign of Kulōttunga I when, as we have seen, great disasters befell the Cōḷa empire, and its extent became greatly circumscribed by the successes of the Hoysalas and the Western Cāḷukyas, the most remarkable phenomenon within the empire was the steady growth in the power and influence of local dynasties. The hold of the central administration over the outlying parts of the empire had always been less firm than in the districts nearer the capital; but by the end of Rājarāja II's rule, the administrative system was betraying signs of weakening even at its centre. The monarchy is no longer the vigorous autocracy that it was, ever active in the pursuit of war and glory, in the maintenance of order and the promotion of costly and essential enterprises of public utility. The inscriptions give clear indications of the increasing helplessness of the king in the face of the growing turbulence of his vassals, who, while acknow-

Its growing weakness.

[113] 267 of 1901.
[114] 216 of 1893.

ledging the nominal suzerainty of their overlord, play a more prominent part than the suzerain or his government in the conduct of the affairs of the area under their control. The system of village administration with its autonomous local assemblies seems to have been generally unaffected by the changed situation; but the strength of the centralised bureaucratic administration so laboriously planned and built up by Rājarāja I and his successors was gone.

Capital, titles, etc.

Gangāpuri no doubt continued to be the capital of the kingdom. The inscriptions of the reign say little of the king's movements or of his part in the administration. One record of the thirteenth year[115] shows him residing at Āyirattaḷi. Of the titles of Rājarāja, the most noteworthy as it occurs both in the inscriptions and in the *Rājarājan-ulā* is Cōḷēndrasimha.[116] Another title commonly applied to him in literature, but not traceable in epigraphy, is Kaṇḍan.[117] The concluding veṇbā in the *ulā* also calls him Vīradhara and Vīrōdaya. From the inscriptions, it is clear that Rājarāja also took to himself the titles Rājagambhīra and Ediriliśōḻa,[118] and possibly also Neṟiyuḍaiccōḻa.

Feudatories.

Among the feudatories of Rājarāja may be noticed first a grandson of that Naraśingavarman,[119] who is said to have been

[115] 163 of 1906.
[116] 336 of 1917; *ulā* ll. 252; 685.
[117] *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, v. 549 and n.
[118] 128 of 1929; 45 of 1914.
[119] 119 of 1900.

crowned under that name c. A.D. 1058, to have ruled the Malāḍu 2000 country, and to have built the Viṣṇu temple of Tirukkōvalūr. Round about the same region we have two other Malaiyamān chieftains, Malaiyamān Periya-uḍaiyān Nīrēṟṟan *alias* Rājarāja Malaiya-kula-rājan,[120] and Malaiyamān Attimallan Śokkapperumāḷ *alias* Rājagambhīra Cēdiya-rāya of Kiḷiyūr.[121] In what relation, if any, these two Malaiyamāns stood to each other and to the grandson of Naraśingavarman mentioned above is not clear. The Kāḍavas are represented by Kūḍalūr Āḷappiṟandān Mōhan *alias* Rājarājak-kāḍavarāyan[122] who is probably identical with Kulōttungaśōḷak-kāḍavarāyan of the previous reign, and by Rājēndraśōḷa Pallavar-ādittan,[123] who is called also the lord of Kāñcīpura. The former assigned to a temple at Elvānāśūr a considerable number of taxes and dues for its expenses, while the latter built a stone temple on a hill in the Kōlār district. There was also Pallavarāyar of Kārigai Kuḷattūr who built the stone temple of Rājarājēśvaram Uḍaiyār in Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai and, as we shall see, played a leading[124] part after the death of Rājarāja II. Two Śengēṇi chieftains are mentioned: a certain Nittavinōda Śāmbuvarāyan,[125] whose wife, Śīṟuḍaiyāḷ,

[120] 163 of 1906.

[121] 411 of 1909. Perhaps he was the same as Ākāraśūran of an inscription from Jambai (102 of 1906) dated in the 14th year of Tribhuvana-cakravartin Kulōttunga (II).

[122] 166 of 1906.

[123] 486 of 1911.

[124] 434, 435 of 1924.

[125] 168 of 1918.

endowed a lamp at Brahmadēśam in South Arcot, and Rājanārāyaṇa Śāmbuvarāyan, also called Ammaiyappan Śīyan Pallavāṇḍān whose gifts are recorded at Munnūr and Accarapākkam.[126] The alias of Rājanārāyaṇa, it may be noted in passing, seems to imply a dynastic connection between the Śengēṇis and the Kāḍavas. Other notable chiefs in the Tamil country were: Kulōttungaśōḷa Kaḍambarāyan, one of whose gifts is recorded at Kuḍumiyāmalai in the Pudukkottah State,[127] and Śēndan Kūttāḍuvān *alias* Rājarāja Vangāra Muttaraiyan who had the *pāḍikāval* of the region near Tiṭṭaguḍi in South Arcot[128] and the *paḷḷikkāṇi* of the *taniyūr* Peṇṇāgaḍam.[129] Among the local rulers in the Telugu country who acknowledged Rājarāja's overlordship, the chief were: Tribhuvanamalla-dēva Cōḍa Mahārāju[130] and Jikkidēva Cōḍa-Mahārāja,[131] both claiming descent from Karikāla; the Kōṇa Rājēndra Lōkarāja;[132] Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi Buddharāja;[133] Kulōttunga Rājēndra Cōḍaya of the Velanāṇṭi family whose officers *bhaṇḍāri* Muppināyaka and Guddavāḍi-*mudali* Bhīmanāyaka are mentioned in inscriptions from Drākṣārāma,[134] and *koṭṭāri* Eṟṟama-nāyaka in a record

[126] 52 of 1919; 244 of 1901.
[127] 355 of 1904—Pd. 135.
[128] 16 of 1903.
[129] 28 of 1908.
[130] 203 of 1897.
[131] 193 of 1897.
[132] 213 of 1897.
[133] 216 of 1893.
[134] 217, 218, 225 of 1893.

from the Nellore district;[135] besides Sūrapa mentioned in a record at Konidena,[136] and Rāma, the son of Kanda or Kandena, chief of Koṇḍūru who made gifts to the temple called Rājarājēśvara in that city.[137] Mention is made also of a Mahāsāmanta Jiyyaru Vāru in an inscription of the tenth year from Janakavaram in Nellore.[138]

End of the Reign. The latest certain regnal year cited in Rājarāja's inscriptions is 26.[139] One record from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr seems to give the twenty-seventh year, though the first figure in this date is not free from doubt. Another inscription from Konidena gives 28, but the Śaka date is missing.[140] The end of Rājarāja's reign would therefore fall about A.D. 1173. The inscriptions of his successor Rājādhirāja II date the commencement of his reign from some day in the month of March, A.D. 1163;[141] it is clear from one of these[142] that Rājādhirāja was not the son of Rājarāja, but like Rājarāja himself, a grandson of Vikramacōḷa, and that he was chosen by Rājarāja to succeed him on the Cōḷa throne as there was no one in the direct line suitable for the purpose.[143] Within a

135 *NI.* O:59.

136 181 of 1899.

137 695, 696 of 1920.

138 *NI.* O:51.

139 703, 704 of 1920.

140 181 of 1899.

141 *EI.* ix. p. 211. But see p. 93 below.

142 433 of 1924, *contra. ARE.* 1909, II, 48.

143 433 of 1924 is a difficult inscription and raises some problems in the chronology of the period. From *Note C.* that follows it will be seen that the gaps in the record greatly obscure its meaning.

few years of the choice of Rājādhirāja for the succession, a great civil war convulsed the Pāṇḍya country in the south and the Cōḷas were compelled to take sides in the war to check the growth of Ceylonese influence on the mainland. The war had practically closed by the time of Rājarāja's death, but as its details are narrated in the records of Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttunga III, they will be considered in the next chapter.

Note C—on the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription (433 of 1924).

This inscription of the 8th year of Rājādhirāja II is noticed at some length in *ARE*. 1924, Part II, paragraphs 19—21. It has been edited by Somasundara Desikar (*QJMS*. Vol. xix, pp. 57 ff.), who differs from the official epigraphist (Venkoba Rao) and holds that the inscription does not support the view that Kulōttunga III was a son of Rājarāja II and a baby at the time of his father's death. I think that Desikar is right on this point. But a careful consideration of this difficult record in the light of the data to be gathered from other contemporary inscriptions has led me to conclusions different from those of the two writers cited above, and considering the importance of the inscription for the history of this period, I proceed to examine it in detail. V. Venkatasubbaiya has also edited this inscription in *EI*. xxi. pp. 184—93.

The text given by Desikar in *QJMS*. is inaccurate in many ways, particularly because he has introduced emendations not all of which have been explained in his notes. The text published in the *EI*. is much more dependable, and agrees closely with the transcript sent me by S. K. Govindaswami who studied the inscription *in situ*.

Lines 1—4 contain the usual *praśasti* of Rājādhirāja and the regnal year in words and call for no remarks. Lines 5—14 deal with the official position held by Pallavarāyar and the part he played in the choice and coronation of Rājādhirāja, first as heir-apparent to Rājarāja and then as his successor after his death, and this section, which is unique in its account of the circumstances of Rājādhirāja's accession, is also the most difficult to interpret on account of the gaps in the record. Lines 14—21 describe the part of Pallavarāyar in the Pāṇḍya Civil War and the expulsion of the Ceylonese forces from

the Pāṇḍya country. Then follows the statement (l. 21) that he died of some disease, and the rest of the inscription records the gift of forty *vēlis* of *iṟaiyili* land to his relations and dependents by king Rājādhirāja in his eighth regnal year (ll. 21—28), the gift being attested by several officers of government (ll. 28—30). If this analysis of the record is correct, it follows that this record is dated after the death of Pallavarāyar which took place after that of Rājarāja II.

The general construction of ll. 5—14 may now be indicated; Pallavarāyar (5—6), peṟṟu ninṟu (7), parigarittu (10), tiru abhiṣēkam paṇṇuvittu (13)[143a], oru paḍiyum paṇṇi (14). All the actions indicated by the participles quoted were thus the acts of Pallavarāyar, and this fact must be firmly grasped. Line 5 is simple and gives details of the name and title of Pallavarāyar and the location of his fief. The words that follow and end with *peṟṟu ninṟu* explain the status of Pallavarāyar. Though this general sense is clear, the exact import of the phrases employed is somewhat obscure. The whole passage may be rendered thus: "having become the Captain (*mudaligaḷ*) of the ten *kōyil-kottus*[144] of Periyadēvar Rājarājadēvar and of the departments (*tuṟaigaḷ*) including the elephant (corps), cavalry and *agambaḍi-niyāyam*, having duties similar to those of all *mudalis*, and being in receipt of all honours including *mun ēval* due to *mudalis*." The ten *kōyil-kottus* remind one of the passage in the *Kōyil-oḻugu* describing how Rāmānuja amplified the temple-organisation at Śrīrangam by dividing the attendants of the deity (*parijanangaḷ*) into ten groups (*kottu*), which took the place of the earlier and more restricted establishment of five *kottus*. The idea seems to be that Pallavarāyar had the control

[143a]In l. 13 V. V. reads *śellumbaḍi paṇṇi[vittaruḷi]nār*; my text has *paṇṇi u........nār*. I think the word is not a finite verb, but a participle and a noun which should form the subject of the following verb *migai śeyyāda paḍi*.

[144]V.V. reads *pērttu kōyiṟ-kottum*, and translates 'big household'. Also *āvark-kudirai*, 'body of armed cavalry', for my *ānai(k)-kudirai*.

of the entire palace (*kōyil*) establishment. The term *agambaḍi-niyāyam* may imply the power to settle disputes among palace servants in immediate attendance on the king.[145] The meaning of *mun-ēval* is more difficult; literally it means 'first command.'[146]

The next part of the inscription ending with *parigarittu* (l. 10) begins with the mention of Rājarāja's death, and narrates the action taken by Pallavarāyar for the protection of the king's children who were aged one and two years and of his harem and treasures. On account of the tender age of the children, Pallavarāyar had to remove them from the camp (*paḍai-vīḍu*) at Āyirattaḷi to another place, evidently to insure their safety; the gaps in l. 9 render the drift of the passage extremely uncertain, but we may be sure that Pallavarāyar succeeded in his main object (*ellā aḍaivu kēḍugaḷam vārāda iḍattu* l. 10). What the particular danger was to which the children and harem of the late king would have been exposed had they remained at Āyirattaḷi is by no means clear.

We now come to the part of the inscription directly bearing on Rājādhirāja's accession (ll. 10—14). This part begins with the phrase *iva......periyadēvar eḻundaruḷi ...... nāḷilē*, and in spite of the gaps, the phrase is a clear warning that, having so far dealt with what happened on the death of Rājarājadēva, the inscription now proceeds to narrate something which took place in his life-time. There were no sons fit for succession—*tiru abhiṣēkattukku uriya piḷḷaigaḷ inṟiyē i(ruk)kiṟapaḍiyai pārttu*—and something had to be done: enquiries were made into the rights of possible claimants—*(a)nnāḷilē kāriyam irundapaḍi vi(cāraṇai)*[147] *śeydu*, and in the end, there was chosen for the

[145] "The body of armed men and women employed in the inner apartments of the palace." V. V.

[146] "Class of officers who first receive the royal commands and communicate them to others for execution." V. V.

[147] V. V. suggests *vi(ṇṇappañ)jeydu*.

succession a grandson of Vikramacōḷa, Edrilipperumāḷ, the son of Neṟi-uḍaiya-perumāḷ, of Gangai-koṇḍa-śōḷapuram. Apparently Pallavarāyar was commissioned to fetch the heir-apparent so chosen to Rājarāja's presence and to install him in his new place; four years later, he was anointed under the name Rājādhirāja-dēva with the consent of the council of officers (*uḍan kūṭṭam*) and the *nāḍu*. A distinction is made between *maṇḍai kavippittu* (l. 12) and *tiru abhiṣēkam paṇṇuvittu* (l. 13), two ceremonies in which Pallavarāyar played a part. Edirilipperumāḷ was a grandson of Vikramacōḷa perhaps by a daughter, otherwise unknown.

The rest of the inscription may be briefly dealt with before taking up the chronology of the events of Rājarāja's reign as suggested by it. After Rājādhirāja's anointment at the end of his four years' probation, there followed the Pāṇḍyan Civil War, and Pallavarāyar led the Cōḷa forces to victory, and at the end of the campaign, he kept himself ready to carry out the further behests of his sovereign, (ll. 14—21). Then he took ill and died, evidently sometime after Rājarāja's death already mentioned in the record, and Rājādhirāja gave 40 *vēlis* of land, which had been the *kāṇi* of Pallavarāyar and was now made tax-free for the benefit of his wives and relations. This was in the 8th year of Rājādhirājadēva's reign. Among the beneficiaries of this grant, figures a Rājarājadēvan (read as Rājādhirājadēva by Somasundara Desikar) whose relations and children get some land for themselves; I doubt if this Rājarājadēvan can be identified with Rājarāja II as has been done (*ARE*. 1924, II, 21, *EI*. xxi, p. 185 *n*. 2). I am inclined to treat him as a relative, otherwise unknown, of Pallavarāyar. But the fact that the largest share (eight *vēlis*) goes to his wife (*virundangaḷ*) and her children, and the leading part of Pallavarāyar in the removal of Rājarāja's harem and children to a safe place support the other view, and it is possible that Rājarāja's children were by the daughter of Pallavarāyar.

Venkoba Rao says : "There seems to have been great opposition, both open and secret, to the coronation of Rājādhirāja from many quarters, against which the minister carefully guarded the prince and firmly established him on the throne after imprisoning all the suspected enemies." (*ARE*. 1924 II 20). All this seems to be reading rather too much into the obscure and fragmentary thirteenth line in the record. I agree with Venkoba Rao when he says: "unfortunately, the inscription is much damaged in certain important portions and leaves much for surmise" (*ibid*).

To turn to chronology : Rājarāja's reign began between 6th April and 11th July A.D. 1146. The latest regnal year clearly cited in his inscriptions is 26, and the 26th year must have begun after 6th April, A.D. 1171. Rājādhirāja's accession was between 28th February and 30th March A.D. 1163, so that his eighth regnal year covers the period March 1170 to March 1171. The twenty-sixth year of Rājarāja did not begin, according to this calculation, until the eighth year of Rājādhirāja had closed, and it is difficult to see how to reconcile this with the present inscription which states that Rājarāja died before Pallavarāyar whose death occurred some time in the 8th year of Rājādhirāja.[148] We shall see that the chronology of the Pāṇḍyan Civil War also requires that the reign of Rājādhirāja should be taken to commence somewhat later than was determined by Kielhorn.

Some inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II are known which do not work out correctly for the accession date fixed by Kielhorn and seem to indicate a later date for the commencement of his reign—19 of 1913, 571 of 1907, 428 of 1912; see *Ind. Eph.* I ii p. 70 and *EI*. x. pp. 126-7. It should be noted with regard to these inscriptions that Sewell's suggestion that the

[148]The position is made worse by 7 of 1893 which implies an interval of 15 years between the 1(9)th year of Rājarāja II and the 8th year of Rājādhirāja. *SII*. iii, p. 207. Perhaps the regnal year of Rājarāja mentioned in this record is 1(1) and not 1(9).

regnal year in 571 of 1907 may be '15' is held to be impossible by Venkayya, and that 428 of 1912 contains the *kaḍal śūḻnda* introduction. These records point to a date somewhere in 1166 A.D. for Rājādhirāja's accession, a date which will fit in with the facts to which attention has been drawn above. On the other hand, 337 of 1914 (Pd. 138) clearly seems to imply an earlier date than Kielhorn's. And there is a record[149] at Punganūr which implies that one and the same regnal year of this king was described as either the twelfth or the fourteenth.

In regard to copper-plate 23 of 1916-7 which couples Ś. 1091 with the 23rd regnal year of Rājarāja II, Venkatasubbaiya makes the following observations. "We know that Rājarāja II was not alive in A.D. 1169 and that the Cōḷa country was then ruled by Rājādhirāja II. The period of regency was probably denoted here (Vengi) as a continuation of Rājarāja's reign." These remarks seem to assume that no records of Rājarāja from the Tamil country are known to be dated after the accession of Rājādhirāja (1163); if this is so, attention may be invited to 267 of 1901, 411 of 1909, and 96 of 1920, though it is a fact that records of Rājarāja dated after the 19th year have not been traced in the Tamil districts. Moreover no other example of the practice postulated by Venkatasubbaiya of a regent or his vassals continuing to issue records in the name of a deceased king is known in the whole Cōḷa history. There is no evidence for the view that Rājādhirāja II ruled as regent for Kulōttunga III during his minority.

The exact date when Rājādhirāja was chosen for the succession must depend on whether the regnal years of this king as counted in his inscriptions included the initial period of four years when he was on trial; seeing that the title Rājādhirāja is said to have been conferred on him only at the time of his anointment at the end of four years and that inscriptions dated in the second year bear this title, the conclusion may be drawn that the period of probation preceded the date of anointment and that the

[149] 209 of 1932.

tale of Rājādhirāja's regnal years did not include this period.[160] If this is correct, the first choice must have been made sometime in 1159 A.D. or 1162 according as we adopt 1163 or 1166 as the initial year of Rājādhirāja's reign. We have seen that the latter is the more likely. Rājarāja himself lived on many years after this date.

It seems quite impossible that Kulōttunga III was one of the children of Rājarāja said to have been one and two years old at the time of his death; for he came to the throne in 1178, within six years after Rājarāja's death, and took an active part in the War of Pāṇḍyan Succession which had begun while Rājarāja was still living. The evidence of the *Kulōttungankōvai* and *Śankaraśōḻan ulā* also points to the same conclusion. *Śen Tamiḻ* iii., pp. 164 ff., *contra* *ARE.* 1909 II, 48; 1924 II, 21.; *EI.* xxi. p. 186.

160 V. V. points out that 337 of 1914 (Pd. 138) giving date A.D. 1162, Dec. 3, Monday, may be a record of the probationary period.

CHAPTER XV

RĀJĀDHIRĀJA II AND KULŌTTUNGA III

A.D. 1163—1216

Praśastis.

In the absence of an heir in the direct male line Rājādhirāja II, a grandson of Vikrama-cōḷa by a daughter, was chosen by Rājarāja II as heir-apparent towards the end of his reign, and Rājādhirāja reigned as co-regent with Rājarāja for about eight years.[1] Rājādhirāja's *praśastis* are found in three forms, all purely rhetorical and of no historical value. The form which begins *kaḍal śūḻnda pār magaḷum* (*mādarum*) and occurs as early as the second year[2] was obviously borrowed from Rājarāja's inscriptions; the other forms are: *pū maruviya tiśaimugattōn* which appears first in the fifth year[3] and was adopted later by Kulōttunga III, and *kaḍal śūḻnda pārēḻum,*[4] found in inscriptions of the sixth and tenth years from the Tanjore district. While the *praśastis* of the king are thus of no use to history, several inscriptions of his reign give a fairly detailed account of the incidents of the war of Pāṇḍyan succession which, on a comparison with the story of the war given in the *Mahāvamsa,* is seen to be quite trustworthy.

[1]Accession dates from 28 Feb.—30 Mar., A.D. 1163, Kielhorn, *EI.* ix, p. 211.

[2]538 of 1904 (Yr. 2); 43 of 1922 (Yr. 3).

[3]262 of 1902.

[4]172 of 1908 (Yr. 6); 540 of 1904 (Yr. 10).

Pāṇḍyan Civil War.

From the re-conquest of the Pāṇḍya country by Kulōttunga I, we hear almost nothing of its affairs or of the fortunes of the ancient line of Pāṇḍya rulers until we reach the reign of Rājādhirāja II. The inscriptions of the Pāṇḍyas, which may with more or less certainty be assigned to this period, show that even after Kulōttunga's southern wars, the Pāṇḍyas successfully maintained a part of the freedom they had gained from the initial difficulties which beset Kulōttunga on his accession to the Cōḷa throne; they engraved inscriptions of their own with boastful *praśastis,* a thing which they did not or could not do when their country was ruled more firmly by the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys. They waged their own wars without reference to the central power to which their allegiance tended to become more and more nominal. Parāntaka Pāṇḍya took part, as we have seen, in Vikramacōḷa's first Kalinga war and attacked Telinga Bhīma of Kolanu; but this real subordination to Cōḷa suzerainty apparently gave place to a more grudging recognition of it in the years that followed the death of Kulōttunga I, if not towards the end of his reign when the Cōḷa power underwent considerable curtailment by the loss of Mysore and Vengi. Hardly any inscriptions of the Cōḷa monarchs are found in the Pāṇḍya country proper after the close of Kulōttunga's reign.[5]

Towards the close of the reign of Rājarāja II, some years after Rājādhirāja had been chosen for the

[5]Only two inscriptions of Vikramacōḷa from Śivapuri (Rd.)—47 and 55 of 1929; none of Kulōttunga II and Rājarāja II; one of Rājādhirāja II from Tirukkaḷākkuḍi (Rd.)—48 of 1916.

succession, a fierce succession dispute broke out in the Pāṇḍya country, and one of the rival parties appealed to the powerful Singalese ruler Parākramabāhu I (A.D. 1153-86) and the other to the Cōḷa monarch. The war soon resolved itself into a continuation of the old struggle between the Cōḷa and Ceylon kingdoms. The intercession brought no good to either; out of the ashes of the civil war arose the Pāṇḍya power which in its renewed strength soon swallowed up both the kingdoms which had espoused the rival causes of the protagonists in the civil war.

The *Mahāvamsa* account.

The early stages of the war are vividly described in the *Mahāvamsa*.[6] In 1169 A.D., Parākrama Pāṇḍya of Madura sent an appeal for help against Kulaśēkhara who was investing the city of Madura. Before the Ceylonese army sent under Lankāpura in response to this appeal could reach the mainland, events there had moved rather fast. Kulaśēkhara had captured Madura and put an end to the lives of Parākrama, his wife and children at a place called Tirimalakke. On hearing this Parākramabāhu sent word to Lankāpura that the war should be continued until the kingdom of Madura was taken from Kulaśēkhara and bestowed on a scion of the house of Parākrama. Lankāpura effected a landing on the opposite coast in the face of opposition, and advancing by way of Rāmēśvaram, he strongly fortified himself at Kundukala, on the tongue of land projecting from the mainland into the sea near Rāmēśvaram. The war

[6] *CV.* ch. 76, v. 76—ch. 77. v. 103.

was marked by savage ill-treatment of the prisoners of war, the Tamils who fell into Lankāpura's hands being either impaled or transported to Ceylon to labour at the restoration of the Buddhist Vihāras of the island that had suffered during the Tamil domination. Without entering into the minute details of the marches and counter-marches and the numerous battles of the campaign which are of no direct concern to us, we may note that Lankāpura's task proved more difficult than was anticipated. Kulaśēkhara long kept up a brave resistance, and Lankāpura had to send for reinforcements to Ceylon and to placate the local chieftains of the Tamil country by means of presents and honours. When he learnt that Parākrama's son Vīra Pāṇḍya who had escaped the massacre of Kulaśēkhara was living in the Malaya (mountain) country, Lankāpura sent word to him to come and join him at a place not far from Madura. Kulaśēkhara put into the field army after army and a fierce war raged in the Ramnad and Madura districts, extending on either side to Pudukkottah and Tinnevelly. To judge from the length of the struggle and the way the Tamil chieftains repeatedly changed sides, the cause of Kulaśēkhara was apparently more popular in the Pāṇḍya country, and the support which Kulaśēkhara gained from his uncle in Kongu[7] and from the Cōḷas may be taken also to point in the same direction. However that may be, the last stage of the war as recorded in the *Mahāvamsa* began with the return

[7] *336 of 1928*, a record of the Kongu-cōḷa ruler Kulōttunga, furnishes striking epigraphical confirmation of this fact mentioned in the *MV*. It also gives some clue to dynastic and political relations in S. India in this period.

of Kulaśēkhara from the Cōḷa country with a Cōḷa force commanded by Pallavarāyar and others which he sent to Toṇḍi and Pāśi. In the battle of Kīḷenilaya that followed, victory was with Lankāpura 'who dyed the water of the ocean ruddy with the blood of the foe'.[8] Kīḷenilaya of the *Mahāvamsa* is doubtless identical with the modern Kīḻ-nilai in the Tiruppattūr taluq of the Ramnad district. After another fight at Ponnamarāvati in which Kulaśēkhara was defeated and put to flight, Lankāpura gave over the government of the kingdom to Vīra Pāṇḍya (whose coronation he had already celebrated in accordance with the orders of Parākramabāhu), introduced the *kahāpaṇa*, the coin of Parākramabāhu, everywhere, and sent to Ceylon a vast amount of booty captured from the Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa countries.

This account of the *Mahāvamsa* is on the face of it incomplete. It does not say how Vīra Pāṇḍya fared, or what happened to Kulaśēkhara, and seems deliberately to avoid stating that Lankāpura returned to Ceylon.[9] One gains the impression that the Ceylonese author has drawn a veil over the ultimate failure of the effort after the initial success.

That this is the fact becomes clear from a study of the Cōḷa inscriptions bearing on the war and from some

[8] *CV.* Ch. 77, v. 85. Geiger (n. 3) doubts the accuracy of this description apparently because he understands Madhurā in v. 83 to mean the city. I think it is the kingdom that is meant. Kīḷenilaya is on the n. border of the old Pāṇḍyan kingdom in the present Ramnad Dt., and the fight which raged over four *gāvutās* might have extended from this village to the sea. We shall see that the Cōḷa inscriptions confirm this view.

[9] Cf. Geiger *CV.* ii, p. 100, n. 1.

events recorded in the *Mahāvamsa* under the reigns of the successors of Parākramabāhu I.

The Ārppākkam (Chingleput Dt.) inscription[10] of the fifth year of Rājādhirāja contains the earliest epigraphical account of this war. It says that the Ceylon army captured the Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam and drove out Rāja Kulaśēkhara from Madura; the army then proceeded against the *sāmantas* of Rājādhirāja, and made war in the region of Toṇḍi and Pāśi, and won victories which struck terror into the hearts of the people in the Śōḻamaṇḍalam and other tracts (nāḍus). Edirilisōḻa Śāmbuvarāya, when he heard of these occurrences, became greatly concerned about how it was all to end and sought divine intercession through Svāmidēvar, a holy man, whom he besought to ward off by prayer, sacrifice and worship the invasion of the Cōḷa country by the wicked troops from Ceylon and the resulting harm to the Brahmins and temples thereof; Svāmidēvar said in reply that he knew that the Ceylon army had put an end to worship in the temple of Rāmēśvaram and had plundered its treasury; he would endeavour by occult means to bring down disaster on the enterprise of the invaders who were Śivadrōhis. With this object he performed *pūjā* for full twenty-eight days, and then came news from Piḷḷai Pallavarāyar that the *pradhānis* including Jayadratha and Lankāpuri *daṇḍanāyakas* and the entire force from Ceylon had sustained defeat. And the Śāmbuvarāya in his gratitude presented the village of Ārppākkam to Svāmidēvar.

The Cōḷa version.

[10] 20 of 1899.

The Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai (Tanjore Dt.) inscription[11] of the eighth year is more explicit in its details. Like the *Mahāvamsa,* it begins by stating that Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya was ousted from Madura by the advent of the Ceylon army, that thereupon he entered the Cōḷa country, and appealed to the Cōḷa monarch for help in restoring himself to the Pāṇḍyan throne; the Cōḷa ruler then ordered that Kulaśēkhara was to be restored to his throne, and that Lankāpuri-daṇḍanāyaka and others were to be killed and their heads nailed to the gates of the city of Madura, the Pāṇḍya capital. Pallavarāyar, who was entrusted with these tasks, entertained Kulaśēkhara suitably during his stay in the Cōḷa country, and having with his army, resources and zeal, brought about the reconquest of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, he carried out his master's orders to the letter by nailing the heads of Lankāpuri-daṇḍanāyaka and others to the gates of Madura. Kulaśēkhara thereupon re-entered Madura, and thus was averted the conversion of the Pāṇḍyan country into a province of Ceylon (*pāṇḍi-nāḍu Īḻa-nāḍāgūdapaḍi pariharittu*).

A third inscription dated in the twelfth year, four years after the last one,[12] and found in the North Arcot district, carries the account of the war a stage further. The record is unfortunately much damaged and many gaps in it greatly obscure its meaning. This inscription records a gift of land to one Paḷaiyanūr-uḍaiyān Vēdavanam-uḍaiyān Ammaiyappan *alias* Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan, and narrates the war in recounting his

[11] 433 of 1924.
[12] 465 of 1905.

services to the state.[13] After giving a brief account of the war up to the restoration of Kulaśēkhara to the throne of Madura,—an account which follows the earlier records summarised above and ascribes to Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan a prominent part in these events,—the inscription proceeds to narrate an expedition against Ceylon, organized presumably by Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan. He heard that the Singalese king, Parākramabāhu, was preparing for another attack on the Cōḷa king and his *protege* Kulaśēkhara and that, with this intent, he was concentrating his forces and building ships in Ūratturai, Pulaiccēri, Mātōṭṭam, Vallikāmam, Maṭṭivāḷ[14] and other places. To counteract this, Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan, acting on behalf of the Cōḷa monarch, employed Śrīvallabha, the nephew (*maru-maganār*) of the king of Ceylon and a claimant to his throne,[15] who had already betaken himself to the mainland to make common cause with the enemies of Parākramabāhu, who had kept him out of his rights in Ceylon. The expedition that was sent with Śrīvallabha at its head captured and destroyed several places in Ceylon, including Pulaiccēri and Mātōṭṭam, where Parākramabāhu was gathering his forces; it seized many elephants

[13] 261 of 1925 is another similar gift of land and contains a fragmentary copy of the same account of the war and is useful in filling some gaps.

[14] Ūratturai is Kayts on an island to the W. of Jaffna. Mātōṭṭam is Mahātittha, Mantotta. Vallikāmam is called Valikagāma in the *MV.* (ch. 83, v. 17) and is about 5 miles S.E. of Mannār. Maṭṭivāḷ is perhaps the same as Mattuvil, 10 miles east of Jaffna. Venkatasubbaiya, *EI.* xxi. p. 187, nn.

[15] This prince had once (c. 1154) been taken prisoner by Parākramabāhu and forced to march in front of his triumphal procession. *CV.* ch. 72, vv. 291, 299. Ceylon was rent by a protracted civil strife before P. succeeded in uniting the whole of the island under his sway. *CV.* Ch. 70—2.

and set fire to a considerable area extending over twenty *kādams* from east to west and seventy *kādams* from north to south, killing some of the Singalese chieftains of the locality and taking others captive. The booty captured in the course of the expedition was then duly presented to the Cōḷa king by Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan who thus successfully counteracted all the machinations of the Ceylonese ruler.

A diplomatic revolution.

At this stage events took quite an unexpected turn and our inscription records a defection from the Cōḷa cause on the part of Kulaśēkhara. We can only surmise the actual course of affairs. The policy adopted by Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan to defeat the plans of Parākramabāhu against the rulers of the mainland was to foment civil strife in Ceylon by supporting a rival claimant to Parākramabāhu's throne; Parākramabāhu had had enough trouble to meet at the commencement of his reign from Śrīvallabha's father, Mānābharaṇa, and had no desire for another long struggle to retain his throne. When hard pressed at home by the activity of Śrīvallabha, Parākramabāhu strengthened himself on the mainland by effecting a sudden revolution in his diplomatic position in relation to the Pāṇḍyan civil war. He recognised that his attempt to support Parākrama Pāṇḍya's line and keep Kulaśēkhara out of the Madura throne had not only failed in itself, but was threatening his own position with ruin. He now made up his mind not only to recognise Kulaśēkhara as the rightful Pāṇḍyan king, but to enter into a close alliance with him by sending him lavish presents and thus wean-

ing him from his tendency to seek the Cōḷa protection. Our inscription roundly asserts that Kulaśēkhara lost all consideration for the good done to him before (by the Cōḷa king) and resolved to enter into an alliance with the king of Ceylon[16] and to co-operate with him in hostilities against the Cōḷa kingdom. In pursuance of this plan, he drove to the north of the river Veḷḷāṟu those of the Ēḻagattār[17] and the Maṟava sāmantas who were loyal to the Cōḷa king and were employed in his service, such as Rājarāja Kaṟkuḍi-mārāya and Rājagambhīra Añjukōṭṭai-nāḍāḻvān, and also removed from the gates of Madura the heads of the Ceylon generals that had been nailed there by the other Pallavarāyar who had placed Kulaśēkhara on the Pāṇḍyan throne. Some letters and presents from Parākramabāhu to the generals and partisans of Kulaśēkhara fell into the hands of the Cōḷa generals, and this discovery of Kulaśēkhara's treachery brought about a *volte face* in Cōḷa policy. The Cōḷa ruler issued orders to Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan that Vīra Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama Pāṇḍya, the original ruler of Madura, must be installed in Madura and Kulaśēkhara turned out. This the general seems to have effected successfully.[18] An inscription from Śambanārkōyil dated in the sixth year

[16]The expression employed is : *Iḻattānuḍan sambandam paṇṇavum*, and this may mean a matrimonial alliance.

[17] "People of Ēḻagam," perhaps identical with Ēḍagam in the Madura Taluq. *SII.* iii, p. 212, n. 1. The phrases *maṟappaḍai* and *Ēḻagappaḍai* may, however, imply two sections of the Pāṇḍyan forces; if that be so, Ēḻagattār here must also be a reference to the troops, which shows that some among them had gone over to the enemy, while the rest remained loyal to the suzerain power.

[18]The general was rewarded by the grant of ten *vēlis* of *iṟaiyili* land in Paḻaiyanūr.

of the reign of Kulōttunga III states that owing to the vicissitudes of an invasion, the images of one temple had to be removed for safe custody to another temple in the eleventh year of the reign of Rājādhirāja II. This statement makes it probable that at some stage in the war, Kulaśēkhara and Parākramabāhu led an expedition into the heart of the Cōḷa country.

Summary of the war.

The inscriptions thus show that for a period of seven or eight years the attention of Rājādhirāja was chiefly devoted to the conduct of the war in the south. And if the interpretation of the records given above is correct, towards the end of this period, Rājādhirāja had himself to order the deposition of Kulaśēkhara on whose behalf and at whose entreaty he had entered the struggle, because Kulaśēkhara had been found guilty of the basest treachery towards the Cōḷa ruler. At the stage we have reached in the war, Kulaśēkhara had lost his throne and was in exile, and Vīra Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama, had been set up on the throne of Madura, by the Cōḷa general, Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan. And this was the position to the end of Rājādhirāja's reign, though after the accession of Kulōttunga III there was, as we shall see, another turn in the wheel of fortune, and Kulaśēkhara's line once more possessed the Pāṇḍyan throne also with Cōḷa assistance. Rājādhirāja had on the whole good reason to be satisfied with the results of the campaigns. Parākramabāhu's designs had been totally frustrated and his candidates steadily kept out of the Madura kingdom. Repeated expeditions of his forces on the mainland had been successfully met and

in spite of temporary victories, the ruler of Ceylon had lost heavily in the fighting and his military and naval resources had been greatly damaged. The Cōḷa king now assumed the surname; "who was pleased to take Madura and Īḻam," (*Maduraiyum Īḻamum koṇḍaruḷina*).[19] While the capture of the Madura kingdom was a fact, the inclusion of Īḻam (Ceylon) in the title must be understood only as a claim to that kingdom like that set up by the English kings to the throne of France or as merely indicative of the military successes achieved by the Cōḷa ruler against the Ceylonese. If we follow the chronology of the *Mahāvamsa* and one set of Rājādhirāja's inscriptions, the events of the war may be placed between say A.D. 1169 and 1177.[20]

Extent of Empire.

That under Rājādhirāja the Cōḷa empire continued to retain the same proportions as under Rājarāja II may be inferred from the provenance of his inscriptions which are found in Nellore and Kāḷahasti and Nandalūr.[21] Even a part of the Ganga country would seem still to have been included in the Cōḷa empire, if the Cōḷa-mahārāja Ghaṭṭi-nuḷamba Bhujabala-vīra Āhōmallarasa, described in a Kāñcīpuram inscription[22] as the Mahāmaṇḍalika of Gangamaṇḍala, was in fact a feudatory of Rājādhirāja II. An inscrip-

Titles.

[19] 36 of 1906; 731 of 1909 etc. Some records, e.g. 474 of 1905, combine the usual *praśasti* and this surname.

[20] See *ante*, pp. 93-5.

[21] *NI*. N. 108, 105 of 1922; 571 of 1907.

[22] 48 of 1893.

tion from Āttūr[23] in the Tanjore district is issued in the name of Tribhuvana-cakravartin Karikālacōḷadēva who took Madura and Īḻam, and obviously the inscription belongs to this period; it seems legitimate to infer that Karikāla was a title of Rājādhirāja II, an inference which is confirmed by another inscription (from Cidambaram) which couples the names Rājādhirāja and Karikāla.[24] A damaged record from Tiruvīḻimiḻalai,[25] which bears no date, mentions the place Komaran Kulōttunga-śōḻa-caturvēdimangalam in the Tiruvaḻundūr-nāḍu; the village seems to have been named after prince Kulōttunga, afterwards Kulōttunga III, an inscription of whose reign[26] mentions gifts made in the same village as early as the third year of Periyadēvar, evidently Rājādhirāja II; the relation of Kulōttunga III to Rājādhirāja, if any, is not clear.

Feudatories.

Among the officials and feudatories mentioned in the records of Rājādhirāja's reign, the following may be noted. The two most prominent were the two Pallavarāyars whose successes in the Pāṇḍyan civil war have already been dealt with in detail. The elder Pallavarāyar of Kārigai-kuḷattūr, Tiruccirrambalam-uḍaiyān Perumāṇambi, was the trusted lieutenant of Rājarāja II and survived him only

[23] 129 of 1927.

[24] 263 of 1913. See *ARE*. 1927 II, 27. The Cidambaram inscription was understood to refer to a grant made in the reign of Kulōttunga III and the titles Karikāla and Rājādhirāja were both assigned to that ruler in *ARE*. 1914 II, 17. It seems to be really a case of a grant of Rājādhirāja being confirmed by his successor, 263 being the original grant, and 262 the confirmation in the reign of Kulōttunga. Another possibility is that 262 is a record of Kulōttunga II, the Parakēsari title in it being a mistake.

[25] 420 of 1908.

[26] 259 of 1925.

long enough to be of service to the widowed queens and the young children of Rājarāja after the demise of the king. The other Pallavarāyar, Paḷaiyanūruḍaiyān Vēdavanamuḍaiyān Ammaiyappan *alias* Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan came into prominence early after Rājādhirāja's accession as he is found making a gift of land in Tiruvārūr in the second year of the reign.[27] At the death of Perumāṇambi, it was Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan who decided the proportion in which the lands belonging to the former were to be distributed among his relatives.[28] He also endowed three lamps in the temple of Tiruvālangāḍu, North Arcot, in the thirteenth year of Rājādhirāja. Vēdavanamuḍaiyān Karuṇākaradēvan *alias* Amarakōn of Paḷaiyanūr who endowed lamps in Tiruvalañjuḷi and Paṭṭīśvaram[29] was perhaps a relative of Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan.

The Śengēṇis and Kāḍavarāyas are strongly represented in the region of the Arcot districts and elsewhere. A certain Śengēṇi Ammaiyappan Śāmbuvarāyan made an assignment of some local taxes and dues to the temple of Tiruppulivanam towards the expenses of worship, offerings and repairs in the temple; as he could only have made over to the temple what was his own or within his power to dispose, it is clear that he must have either possessed a large assignment himself or been an important official of the central government with large powers devolved upon him. This Śāmbuvarāya was most probably the

[27] 538 of 1904.
[28] 433 of 1924.
[29] 619 of 1902; 270 of 1927.

same as Edirili-śōḷa who is called Śengēṇi Ammaiyappan Śīyan Ammaiyappan in a Kāñcīpuram record,[30] and who granted the village of Ārppākkam as *ēkabhōga-iṟaiyili* to Umāpati-dēva *alias* Ñānaśiva-dēva for his celebrated worship of Śiva and prayers to him to avert the disasters threatened by the invasion of the Ceylon forces.[31] Other chieftains of the same dynasty were a Pāṇḍi-nāḍu-koṇḍān (Conqueror of the Pāṇḍya country) *alias* Kaṇḍar Sūriyan who built a *gōpura* called after him at Tiruvakkarai, and made a gift of some land in Śiṟṟāmūr as *paḷḷiccandam*;[32] a Śengēṇi Ammaiyappan Śīyan Pallavāṇḍān *alias* Rājanārāyaṇa Śāmbuvarāyan who transferred to the temple of Munnūr the proceeds of some taxes and dues for building expenses;[33] and lastly, a Śengēṇi Ammaiyappan Pāṇḍi *alias* Rājarāja Śambuvarāyan who was the grandson of Ammaiyappan Kulamāṇikkam Pāṇḍināḍu-koṇḍār and made a gift of land and houses in Mēl-Śēvūr in the thirteenth year of the reign.[34]

Among the Malaiyamāns we have: Rājarāja-malaiyamān *alias* Aruḷāḷa Perumāḷ, son of Tiruccūrak-kaṇṇappan Malaiyamān, who endowed a lamp at Triśūlam in the fourth year of the reign;[35] Rājarāja Cēdiyarāyan and Rājarāja Kōvalarāyan each with a number of other surnames and each making gifts in

[30] 7a of 1893.
[31] 20 of 1899.
[32] 195 of 1904; 202 of 1902.
[33] 71 of 1919.
[34] 222 of 1904.
[35] 321 of 1901.

Kīḷūr in the fifth year;[36] Rājagambhīra Cēdiyarāyan of Kiḷiyūr;[37] Nīṟaṉindān *alias* Śēdirāyan of Panangudi who endowed a lamp at Atti *alias* Kēraḷāntakanallūr in North Arcot;[38] Tiruvarangam uḍaiyān *alias* Rājādhirāja-malaiyarāyan who figures as the donor of a considerable gift in Tiruppāccūr in the tenth year;[39] and Kaṇṇan Śūran alias Ākāraśūra Malaiyamān of an inscription from Siddhalingamaḍam.[40] Other names of feudatories and officials that call for notice are: Kaḍandai Śēndan Ādittan *alias* Rājarāja Vangāra-muttaraiyan who made a gift to the temple at Tiṭṭaguḍi of five *vēlis* of land exempted from *kaḍamai* and *pāḍikāval* from the fifth year of the reign;[41] Kōlan Tirukkoḍunguṉṟam-uḍaiyān *alias* Niṣadarājan of Pon-Amarāvati;[42] Araśanārāyaṇan Ēḷiśaimōgan *alias* Jana-nātha Kacciyarāyan, evidently of the line of Kāḍavarāyas, who is mentioned in a fragmentary record from Tiruvadi;[43] Kuṇamālaippāḍi-uḍaiyān Āṭkoṇḍān Gangaikoṇḍān *alias* Pottappiccōḷan of Veṇṇik-kūṟṟam, apparently a Telugu chieftain holding an appointment in the heart of the Tamil Cōḷa country;[44] and Siddharasa of Nellūr, one of whose *pradhānis* endowed half a lamp in the temple at Kāḷahasti in the twelfth year.[45]

36 262 of 1902.
37 322 of 1921; 311 of 1921.
38 297 of 1912.
39 150 of 1930.
40 427 of 1909.
41 26 of 1903.
42 43 of 1916.
43 47 A of 1903.
44 621 of 1902.
45 105 of 1922.

Growth of feudal conditions.

From the reign of Kulōttunga I, the growth in the number of feudatories and the extent of their influence on the administration and policy of the central government is one of the most striking features of Cōḷa history, and for this reason we have sought to collect the names and, wherever possible, the achievements of these magnates and princelings at the end of each reign. The multiplication of these over-mighty subjects of the king naturally weakened the control exercised by his government over the general welfare of the country and removed considerable areas from its direct purview and constituted them into more or less independent jurisdictions. So long as village-communities and other popular organisations, rural and urban, were the only machinery of local administration by the side of the central government, the latter had a firm hold not only on the general administration as a whole but on the manner in which the various corporations carried on their affairs. It was not to be expected that powerful chieftains, who, though in the beginning they might have risen with the support and favour of the king, subsequently found themselves at the head of armed forces, would stand the same amount of interference as the humbler popular organisations, the assemblies and the guilds. Such chieftains often found themselves in possession of considerable areas of territory allotted to them by the king partly in recognition of their past services and partly with a view to enabling them to add a contingent of soldiers to the forces of the king in times of need. The growth in the number of such chieftains had two consequences. The first was to weaken the prestige of the

king's government by increasingly restricting the sphere of its effective operation, and thereby to loosen its hold even on the rest of the administration. The inscriptions of the later Cōḷa rulers do not give rise to the same impression, as do those of the earlier monarchs, of a powerful central government ever active in restraining, correcting, advising and guiding the more or less autonomous local organisations in the various parts of the empire. The popular organisations seem to be for the most part left to themselves, and when they have anything to do with outside authorities, it is generally with the local chieftains who have come up in their neighbourhood that they have to deal. It is more often to them rather than to the king that they begin to look for large gifts or the permanent assignment of local taxes and dues for charitable purposes. Another consequence of the new situation was that the local chieftains began to enter into political compacts calculated to regulate their conduct towards the emperor. These compacts seem to have had an important rôle in effecting the transition by which the class of official nobility, which had at first grown with the growth of the Cōḷa empire, converted itself into a number of petty local chieftaincies of a hereditary character. It is remarkable that the binding power of these compacts is often sought to be secured by the most fearful imprecations some of which are too shocking to be reproduced here. The earliest of these compacts are those found in the Ramnad district towards the close of the reign of Kulōttunga I and in the beginning of Vikramacōḷa's reign. In the forty-

second year of the reign of Kulōttunga I, as we learn from an inscription from Śivapuri (Ramnad Dt.),[46] Kaṇḍan-Mangalattēvan *alias* Tuvarāpati-vēḷān swore a vow of alliance and fealty to Sundarattōḷan Kaṇḍan *alias* Rājēndraśōḷa Tuvarāpati-vēḷān saying: "I, Kaṇḍan Mangalattēvan *alias* Tuvarāpati-vēḷān do hereby swear that I shall remain true to (your) life, wealth and honour, and that, if I fail, I shall incur the sin of him who becomes the husband of his mother and of consuming liquor (*surā*) and beef (*gō-māmsam*)." About ten years later, in the same place is registered another compact[47] between Rājēndraśōḷan *alias* Niṣadarājan and Kaṇḍan Sundarattōḷan *alias* Tuvarāpati-vēḷān by which the former swore fealty to the latter in similar terms. Another instance comes from North Arcot and belongs to the reign of Rājādhirāja II; an inscription from Māḍam dated in the eleventh regnal year of the king[48] registers a similar compact among three chieftains of the Śengēṇi family. It will become clear presently that under Kulōttunga III this tendency became much more general, and there can be no doubt that we have here unmistakable evidence of the approach of the end. The empire is dissolving into a number of warring principalities before the eyes of the king, now no longer powerful to enforce his will on his vassals who, though they still own allegiance to him, generally act very much by themselves and as best suits their divergent interests.

[46] 65 of 1929.

[47] 55 of 1929.

[48] 252 of 1919.

Accession of Kulōttunga III.

The latest regnal year traced in the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II is sixteen,[49] so that his reign extended up to A.D. 1179 or 1182 according as we adopt A.D. 1163 or 1166 for the commencement of his reign. The inscriptions of Kulōttunga show that his rule commenced between the 6th and 8th day of July, A.D., 1178.[50] It is thus clear that Kulōttunga III had come to be recognised as the next sovereign before the death of Rājādhirāja. It has been shown above that Kulōttunga could not have been one of the tender children of Rājarāja[51] for whose protection the Pallavarāyar took effective steps at the time of Rājarāja's death. If the assumption is correct that Kulōttunga is identical with Kumāra Kulōttunga mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II,[52] then it would seem that he was not of the direct line of the Imperial Cōḷas any more than his predecessor. The *Kulōttungan-kōvai*[53] gives the pedigree of Kumāra-kulōttunga thus:

Sangamarāja

Nallaman	Kumāra Kulōttunga	Śankaraśōḻan

There is an *ulā* on Śankaraśōḻan which seems to mention his elder brother under the slightly different name

[49] 389 of 1921.

[50] *EI.* viii, p. 260—Kielhorn.

[51] 229 of 1917 of the second year of Tribhuvanacakravartin Kulōttunga-cōḷadēva mentions the 'nineteenth year of *Periyadēvar Rājarājadēva*'. This does not necessarily imply a filial relation as it is employed also of Rājādhirāja II in 37 of 1925 (Yr. 28).

[52] *Ante*, p. 108.

[53] This work is sometimes ascribed to Oṭṭakkūttan by mistake. Pandit R. Raghava Aiyangar has shown that it is later than the *ulās* of that poet, and contemporary with the *Śankara-śōḻan ulā*. *Sen Tamiḻ*, iii, pp. 164—70.

Kumāra-mahīdhara. It must be noted, however, that as neither the *kōvai* nor the *ulā* mentions any historical events specifically traceable to Kulōttunga III of the inscriptions,[54] the identification of this king with Kumāra Kulōttunga of literature is still open to doubt. There is no means available at present of ascertaining the exact relation of Sangamarāja to the Cōḷa line.

Praśastis.

The records of Kulōttunga's reign are very numerous, and the chief *praśasti* that appears in many of them begins *puyal vāyttu* (or *vāykka*) *vaḷam peruga*, a formula which is borrowed from the inscriptions of Rājarāja II and is first found in this reign in a record of the third year.[55] Though at first this form is repeated almost exactly as

[54] The author of the *Kōvai* is more keen on identifying his hero with Viṣṇu and attributing to him the legendary achievements of that god, than on treating him as a human ruler and mentioning the incidents of his career. In this respect, this *Kōvai* compares unfavourably with the *Pāṇḍikkōvai*, which furnishes most of the illustrative stanzas in the commentary to the *Iṟaiyaṉār Ahapporuḷ*. Even so, attention may be drawn to the following expressions of the *Kōvai* which, by alluding to victories against Kongu and Pāṇḍya and mentioning specially the king's devotion to Śiva, may be taken to support in some measure the identification of the hero of the *Kōvai* with Kulōttunga III—especially as there is nothing traceable in it against such an identification:

Kong-ōṭṭum vēngaik-koḍiyōn (v. 82).

Pattiyāl-urugi nāgā-paraṇanai-yēttum Kulōttungan (88);

Maḻu-vāḷiyaip-pōyt-tān śūḷtaru-tirut-tāḷān Kulōttungan (103);

Mīn pōda ven-kaṇḍa (114);

Kongōḍak-kuttum-gaḷiṟṟān (133);

Aḍi ninṟa mīnamuñ-Jāpamum-moḷiyaḍavi-pugak-koḍi-ninṟa vēngai-yuyarttōn (170).

Mīnavar Śērarai ven-kaṇḍa vīram viḷuk-kaviñarā-navar paḍum-Kulōttungan (195);

Tangum-araṇam pirid-onṟilād-andac-*cāvagamum*-kongum-iṟaiñjum-kumāra-Kulōttungan (270).

The mention of Śāvakam (Zābag) among the countries acknowledging Kulōttunga's supremacy deserves to be particularly noted.

[55] 165 of 1902—*SII.* iii, 85.

it occurs in Rājarāja's reign and furnishes no data for the historian, by the ninth year of the reign an account of the Pāṇḍyan war of Kulōttunga is incorporated in it,[56] and this account is reproduced in almost all the subsequent editions of the *praśasti* with significant variations which will presently be taken up for discussion. The other *praśastis* of the reign, less frequently employed and of little historical importance, may be more briefly noticed. The formulas commencing *malar mannu poḻil-eḻilum* and *pū mēvi maruviya* both appear first in records of the fifth year;[57] a record from Māgaṟal, dated in the eleventh year,[58] has the *praśasti* beginning *pū mēvi vaḷar* of Kulōttunga II and cannot be distinguished from the inscriptions of that monarch except by the Parakēsari title of the sovereign. Some records of Kulōttunga III begin *pū maruviya tiśai mugattōn*, a form which first appears in the fifth year and of which only the first words are mentioned in a record of the seventeenth year.[59]

The inscriptions of Kulōttunga very often exhibit, besides the *praśastis*, some descriptive titles of the monarch which are a great help in the identification of his inscriptions and in the study of the history of the reign. In one record[60] of the second year, and more

[56] 457 of 1902; *SII.* iii, 86. The Tirukkollambūdūr inscription (1 of 1899) has the same form, but its exact date is uncertain, as yr. 4 mentioned in ll. 14—15 is obviously not the date of the record. *Contra* Venkayya, *ARE.* 1899.

[57] 173 of 1918; 196 of 1901.

[58] 215 of 1901.

[59] 176 of 1908; 313 of 1902.

[60] 190 of 1904.

frequently from the fourth year[61] onwards, the phrase '*Maduraiyum Pāṇḍiyan muḍit-talaiyum koṇḍaruḷiya,*' meaning 'who was pleased to take Madura and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,' is employed to distinguish the king from his earlier namesakes. This shows that the Pāṇḍyan campaign of which we get a detailed account for the first time in the ninth year, must have commenced, if not actually been completed, some years earlier. The descriptive title quoted above is revised from time to time by the addition of Īḻam (Ceylon) in the tenth year,[62] Karuvūr in the sixteenth,[63] and of Kāñcīpuram in the twenty-fourth year.[64] The city last mentioned is not included in many inscriptions; Kulōttunga is also stated to have celebrated a *vīrābhiṣēka* and a *vijayābhiṣēka*.[65]

Disruption delayed.

The reign of Kulōttunga III is a remarkable example of the triumph of the personal ability of the monarch against the forces of disruption that were steadily increasing in their number and in the intensity of their action. Pāṇḍyan affairs had not reached a settlement when Kulōttunga came to the throne; and much active fighting was still needed and though Kulōttunga succeeded for the best part of his reign in enforcing Cōḷa suzerainty over the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, it became

[61] 24b of 1903.

[62] *NI.* N. 85.

[63] 397 of 1925.

[64] 2 of 1905.

[65] First mentioned in the twenty-sixth year—120 of 1912. As this record mentions year 37, the earliest reference is in 658 of 1902. (Yr. 29). A solitary record from Kāñcī (517 of 1919) seems to mention these *abhiṣēkas* in yr. 1(3), which may be a mistake for 30, the figures ௩ and ௰ being reversed by a mistake of the engraver.

clear by the end of his reign that the southern kingdom, after its recovery from the effects of the civil strife, was being ruled by able and ambitious monarchs who were prepared not only to assert their independence of the Cōḷa power, but to embark, in their turn, on a career of aggressive warfare and territorial aggrandisement. We shall see that Kulōttunga lived long enough to experience the first shock of the newborn imperialism of the Pāṇḍyas. Elsewhere, the numerous feudatory dynasties were preparing to break off from the centre when opportunity occurred, and some of them like the Siddharasas of Nellore caused no end of anxiety to the emperor by their restless activity directed not seldom against the central power itself. All the energy and the strength of Kulōttunga was taken up in counteracting the machinations and undoing the mischief resulting from the actions of such overgrown vassals. In spite of everything, however, until towards the close of the reign of Kulōttunga, the Cōḷa empire suffered no visible curtailment, and the period of his rule marks the last great epoch in the history of Cōḷa architecture and art. Literature did not fail to get its meed of encouragement. Kulōttunga himself must be counted as the last of the great Cōḷa monarchs. Under his weak successor, the empire went to pieces and its ruler suffered personal humiliation at the hands of one of his feudatories who was in alliance with the newly risen power of the Pāṇḍyas, and it was only the intercession of the Hoysala ruler Narasimha that restored the Cōḷa monarch to the semblance of sovereignty, though not to real power.

Pāṇḍyan War.

We have seen that Kulaśēkhara, on whose account Rājādhirāja II fought the powerful ruler of Ceylon, Parākramabāhu I, and his *protege* Vīra Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama Pāṇḍya, ultimately made his peace with the Ceylonese king, turned against his Cōḷa benefactor, and paid for his treachery by being driven out of Madura by Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan who sought out Vīra Pāṇḍya and restored him to the throne of Madura. A solitary inscription of Vīra Pāṇḍya comes from Sucīndram;[66] it begins *pūmaḍandaiyum jayamaḍandaiyum* and records a gift of seven *vēlis* of land to the local temple on the occasion of the king's coronation; it seems more likely that this grant was made by Vīra Pāṇḍya when he was installed by Aṇṇan Pallavarāyan, rather than on the earlier occasion when the Ceylonese generals secured for him a temporary hold on Madura. How long Vīra Pāṇḍya occupied the throne can only be surmised; there is no doubt, however, that in a short time he too succumb ed to the blandishments of the king of Ceylon and went over to his side. The fact was that the traditional alliance among the southern powers—Vēṇāḍ, Pāṇḍya and Ceylon—against the Cōḷa monarchy was too firmly established to be shaken by considerations of gratitude for help received at a critical juncture. We shall see that Vīra Pāṇḍya at a later stage sought refuge in Kollam when he was driven out of Madura. It will be recollected that when Parāntaka I extended the Cōḷa

[66] *TAS.* ii, pp. 18 ff. The record is valuable as showing the partial survival of the Cōḷa administrative system through all the disturbances and rebellions in the South.

dominion to the south, the conquered ruler of the Pāṇḍya country, Rājasiṁha, found sympathy and support in Ceylon and Kēraḷa; that the general relations of these powers among themselves and towards the Cōḷas remained constant in the long interval that had elapsed up to the accession of Kulōttunga must have become clear from the account that has been given in the preceding pages. Hence it was that both Kulaśēkhara and Vīra Pāṇḍya, though they were ready to seek Cōḷa assistance against each other, could not maintain that friendship after their object was attained, and drifted into the diplomatic situation normal to the ruler of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.

Kulōttunga's inscriptions.

The further stages of the war as recorded in Kulōttunga's inscriptions, all of them commencing *puyal vāyttu vaḷam peruga*, may now be briefly summarised. An inscription from Cidambaram dated on the 88th day of the ninth year[67] records the coronation of the king at his accession, and then states that the king despatched an army when Vikrama Pāṇḍya sought his aid and in the campaign that followed, the son of Vīra Pāṇḍya fell,[68] Ēḻagam was subdued, and the army of the *maṟavas* (*maṟappaḍai*) was beaten, while the Śingaḷa soldiers had their noses cut off and rushed into the sea.[69] Vīra

[67] 457 of 1902, (*SII*. iii, 86); 1 of 1899 is similar.

[68] 1 of 1899 has 'sons'. Hultzsch translates: 'the son of Vīra Pāṇḍya was subdued, '*SII*. iii, p. 212 (l. 2); but *paḍa* as applied to men implies loss of life.

[69] 94 of 1918 (yr. 14) has a more picturesque phrasing which includes also the Maṟava forces: "*Śingaḷappaḍai maṟappaḍai veṭṭuṇḍalai kuḍal pukkalaṟi viḻa.*"

Pāṇḍya was attacked and compelled to turn back; Madura and his throne were seized from him and handed over to the Pāṇḍya (Vikrama) who had sought the aid of the conqueror; a pillar of victory was also set up. Another inscription, also from Cidambaram, dated on the 118th day of the eleventh year, says:[70]

> "By a single army, (Kulōttunga) had the nose of the son of Vīra Pāṇḍya cut off before he was captured, bestowed on Vikrama-Pāṇḍya the great city of Kūḍal, and returned. After this, he took the crowned head of Vīra Pāṇḍya who had returned to the attack because of the disgrace (of his former defeat), and erected a pillar of victory at the end of the fight."

Two records from Tirukkaḍaiyūr[71] dated in the fifteenth (?) and sixteenth years repeat the events recorded in the last preceding inscription in identical words and add the following:

> "Having finished the fight, he (Kulōttunga) caused the best of his (Vīra Pāṇḍya's) women to enter (his own) *vēḷam*;[72] (he) set his foot on the crowns of the *Tennan* (Pāṇḍya), who had entered the Western Kollam with his relatives as he had no (other) refuge, and of the powerful Cēra, when they made obeisance at his lotus feet; (he) was pleased to confer on the Tennavan (Pāṇḍya) the sovereignty of the land of Śen-Tamiḻ (Madura country) and (its) crown; (he) put on the anklet of heroes and raised the banners of heroism and of liberality; (he) was pleased to be present when the chief of Kaikayas named his son after him (Kulōttunga) and gave him many robes; having bestowed a living, such as kings seldom got, on the *mīnava* (Pāṇḍya) Vīra Kēraḷa whom he had compelled to turn his back

[70] 458 of 1902, (*SII.* iii, 87).

[71] 254 of 1925; 42 of 1906.

[72] This word does not seem to mean 'harem,' but the female part of the palace establishment. 42 of 1906 omits this fact.

on the battle-field, whose finger he had cut off, and who had since surrendered himself into slavery; (he also) gave him to eat by his side from vessels given by him.''[73]

A record from Tiruvidaimarudūr, also dated in the sixteenth year,[74] states that the warriors of Kulōttunga began to guard all places in response to the order: "Capture Īḻam in the South, so that the *tennavar* (southerners—Pāṇḍya, Kērala and Śingaḷa ?) may come and prostrate themselves, and the head of the Śingaḷavan may be cut off; fill the wavy sea (to make a causeway)." Then we have an inscription of the nineteenth year from Śrīrangam[75] which repeats the incidents of the Pāṇḍyan war almost in the same words as the Cidambaram inscription of the eleventh year stating also that Vīra Pāṇḍya's second attempt to resist Kulōttunga was made on the field of Neṭṭūr, and adds that, at the end of the battle, he took into his *vēḷam* the young queen (*maḍakkoḍi*) of the Pāṇḍya ruler, and proceeds:

''When the Tennavan (Pāṇḍya), who had lost his fortune, and the Śēralan (Cēra) came (to the Cōḷa), bowed (to him) and sat down at the foot of (his) throne, (he) placed (his) feet on the crown of the former, granted (him) land, granted (him) a crown, and gave the Pāṇḍya permission (to go); and to him on

[73]The text relating to Vīra Kēraḷa, as I read it from the two inscriptions mentioned above, is: *Mīnavanām Vīra-kēraḷan ve(nai)—koṇḍu viral taṟittut-tān aḍimai pugudalāl tarādipar peṟā vāḷvaḷittu pakkamirundunna parikala-pariccinna-nalgi.* The last phrase has apparently the same meaning as the corresponding expression in *SII.* iii, 88 l. 6, viz., *parikalattil-amudaḷittu.*

[74]288 of 1907.

[75]66 of 1892—*SII.* iii, 88.

whose flag was seen the bow (the Cēra),[76] he granted a fortune which (other) kings could not obtain."

The inscription then mentions the defeat of Pāṇḍya Vīra Kēraḷa, whose finger was cut off and who was forced to turn back,[77] and the gifts made to him, as also the gift of much treasure, robes, and bejewelled vessels to the Pāṇḍya who bore the glorious name of 'chief of the family of the Sun'. From Tiruvoṟṟiyūr[78] we have an inscription of the nineteenth year which says, in the midst of much sham history, that Kulōttunga cut off the heads of Tennavan and Vikkalan; these statements, it is certain, deserve no credence and may be ignored. Another record from Tirumāṇikuḻi[79] of the twenty-first year follows the Śrīrangam inscription of the nineteenth year except that it omits the gifts of land and crown to the Pāṇḍya and of wealth to the Cēra when they both sat at the feet of Kulōttunga's throne and he placed his foot on the crown of the Pāṇḍya; it also adds at the end that Kulōttunga adorned with his feet the crown of the Ceylonese king (Īḻattān) in order that it may prosper.

[76]This seems to be the real meaning of: '*Koḍivaḷangu-villavan*' which Hultzsch translates: 'the Villavan (i.e. the Cēra king), who (formerly had) distributed crores.' *Vaḷangudal* means *ulāvudal, Tamiḻc-collagarādi.* cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *S. India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 14, n. 3.

[77]In this inscription the phrase read as '*ve(nai) koṇḍu*' and corrected into '*venai kaṇḍu*' by Hultzsch occurs after '*viral taṟittu*' and not before it as in the Tirukkaḍaiyūr inscriptions noticed before; the Pudukkottah records to be noticed later follow the Śrīrangam reading. The phrase '*tānaḍimai-pugududalāl*' is omitted in the Śrīrangam and Pudukkottah records.

[78]404 of 1896.

[79]170 of 1902.

Lastly, there are two records from the Pudukkottah state[80] with a unique form of the *praśasti* not so far traced in any other inscriptions of Kulōttunga. From one of these records, the date has been lost; the other is dated in the thirty-fourth year. This *praśasti* mentions the Pāṇḍyan campaigns of Kulōttunga at two points in a manner that clearly implies that the facts recorded in the other inscriptions cited so far do not take us to the end of the story and that there was another expedition some years later. Though we must reserve to a later stage a discussion of the events recorded in the *praśasti* but having no bearing on Pāṇḍyan affairs, it may still be useful to give here an analysis of the entire *praśasti*. It opens in the usual manner by recording the benevolent effects of the king's coronation; it then records the gilding of parts of the Cidambaram temple, the construction of Tribhuvanīśvaram, the gilding of Rājarājīśvaram and the institution of festivals in these temples; next follows a brief narration of a northern campaign culminating in the recapture of Kāñcī;[81] what follows, on the subjugation of Vaḍugu and the annexation of Vēngimaṇḍalam, the shower of gold (in the form of gifts) and the entry into Uṟangai, is evidently a record of further details of the same campaign not found in other inscriptions. Then begins the story of the Pāṇḍyan war, narrated in almost the same words as those of the Śrīrangam

[80] 163; 166 of *Pudukkōṭṭai Inscriptions*: (Texts). Both the records are in a bad state of preservation, and the published text is full of gaps and possibly some misreadings.

[81] The words employed here are the same as in *SII*. iii, 87, ll. 2—3.

inscription cited above.[82] Kulōttunga is then stated to have conquered Īḷam (Ceylon), waged a fierce war against Kongu, entered Karuvūr and worn the 'great crown of victory' (*vijayamāmuḍi*), assuming the title Śōḷa Kēraḷa. Then he set out to wear the 'crown of heroism' (*vīra-muḍi*), fought against the warlike army of Malaya,[83] besieged Maṭṭiyūr and Kaḷikkōṭṭai, defaced some of the Pāṇḍyan troops by cutting off their noses and took captive the *maṟap-paḍai* and *ēḷagap-paḍai;* he then surrounded Madura with his troops, drove the Pāṇḍya, his younger brothers and his mother into the forests, demolished the coronation *maṇḍapa* of the Pāṇḍyas, and after ploughing its site with asses, sowed *kavaḍi* on it, and then wore the 'crown of heroism' after taking the title of Cōḷa-Pāṇḍyan. He then put on the anklet of heroes, assumed the title Tribhuvanavīra and went on a triumphal march round the city with the banner of heroism raised aloft; at the end of it, he worshipped the God of Madura,[84] and presented many fine jewels to the deity. He then proclaimed that the name of Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam was thenceforth to be Cōḷa-Pāṇḍiyan-maṇḍalam, and that of Madura was to be Muḍit-talai-koṇḍa-śōḷa-puram; he then inscribed the name 'Lord of the Cēra and Pāṇḍya' (Cēra-pāṇḍiyan-tambirān) on the *maṇḍapa* in which he had been camping, changed the name of the Pāṇḍiyan and conferred the title Pāṇḍya on the bard (*pāṇan*)

[82] *Ibid*, 88. 11. 3—6.

[83] I have to omit some obscure expressions at this point.

[84] I must not omit to reproduce the beautiful words of the original here: "*Māmaduraiyai valangoṇḍu Tiruvālavāy uṟaiyum tēn-malark-koṉṟai-vār-śaḍaic-ceḻuñjuḍaraittoḻudiṟaiñji.*"

who celebrated the prowess of his arms that took Madura to the discomfiture of the Tennavan (Pāṇḍya). He then opened a broad street in his own name for the procession of the God of Madura, instituted a new festival and stayed to worship the deity during the procession (in the new street). He then covered the Madura temple with gold so that it resembled a golden mountain, and distributed the tribute of gold and *iṟaiyili* (lands) levied from the country of the Cēra (and) Pāṇḍya among the temples of Cidambaram, Tiruvārūr and Tribhuvanam. He also planted pillars of victory carrying the praise of his arms in every direction.[85] He finally restored the kingdom to the Pāṇḍya together with his regalia and assured him of his friendship.

Three Campaigns.

From these records, the Pāṇḍyan wars of Kulōttunga are seen to comprise three separate campaigns. The first of them began at the request of Vikrama Pāṇḍya and led to the deposition of Vīra Pāṇḍya and the appointment of Vikrama to the throne of Madura. It is to be noted that the inscriptions are silent on some important points. How did Vīra Pāṇḍya incur the displeasure of Kulōttunga? This question has been examined above, and an answer has been suggested which must be held to be only tentative, till it is confirmed by direct evidence. Again, what happened to Kulaśēkhara after his expulsion from Madura? How

[85] An inscription of the thirty-fourth year from Tirumalavāḍi (74 of 1895) gives yet another variant of the *puyal vāyttu* introduction which describes the achievements of the armies of Kulōttunga in the different quarters of the world—a description of no value to history.

was Vikrama Pāṇḍya related to him? What were the circumstances under which Vikrama Pāṇḍya persuaded Kulōttunga to undertake an expedition for aiding him against Vīra? In the absence of direct testimony, we can only assume what seems most probable, viz., that Kulaśēkhara was dead by the time this war began, that Vikrama Pāṇḍya was some near relative of his, if not his son, who inherited his rights to the Pāṇḍyan throne, and that he used very well the opportunities offered to him by the intrigues of Vīra Pāṇḍya with the natural enemies of the Cōḷa ruler. Though this campaign is not described in detail till after the commencement of the ninth regnal year (June A.D. 1186), it is possible that it was actually fought before A. D. 1182, the time when the title *Maduraiyum Pāṇḍiyan-muḍittalaiyum koṇḍaruḷiya* began to appear regularly in the inscriptions. If that was so, the campaign was fought in the last years of Parākramabāhu I of Ceylon, and the Śingaḷa soldiers who fought and suffered with Vīra Pāṇḍya must have been troops furnished by that king. The divergent accounts of the fate of Vīra Pāṇḍya's son or sons render it difficult to decide what, if anything, happened to them in fact.

When the Cōḷa forces had gone back after installing Vikrama Pāṇḍya on the throne of Madura, Vīra Pāṇḍya made another effort to retrieve his fortune, and this led to the second campaign in which Vīra Pāṇḍya's attempt was crushed on the battle-field of Neṭṭūr. This battle must have taken place before A.D. 1189 when it is briefly mentioned, though not by the name, for the first time. Later inscriptions embellish the account by

the addition of fresh details. The main feature of this part of the struggle was the co-operation of the ruler of Kēraḷa with Vīra Pāṇḍya. After the defeat at Neṭṭūr, Vīra Pāṇḍya apparently sought refuge in Quilon (Kollam) with the Kēraḷa ruler of Vēṇāḍ; but the latter had no desire to harbour his dangerous guest for long, and they both made up their minds to surrender themselves to Kulōttunga and thus put a stop to further fighting. Vīra Pāṇḍya seems on the whole to have been treated better than he had a right to expect; he had to eat the humble pie in the open durbar of Kulōttunga and naturally lost his kingdom and the insignia of royalty including the harem; but his life was spared and possibly he got some land and other forms of wealth suited to his new situation.[86] Who the chief of the Kaikayas was who named his son after Kulōttunga, who the Pāṇḍya Vīra Kēraḷa and who 'the chief of the family of the Sun', we seem to have no means of determining. Again, though the Tirumāṇikuḻi inscription states that Kulōttunga placed his foot on the crown of the king of Ceylon, this can hardly be accepted as true. Of the date of the second campaign, we can only say that it must have taken place before A.D. 1189; whether it came to an end in the life-time of Parākramabāhu I of Ceylon who lived to 1187, or dragged on to the reign of Niśśankamalla, separated from that of Parākramabāhu I only by the short reign of Mahinda VI, is therefore uncertain; it may be noted, however, that Īḻam first figures in the

[86] Cf. *paḍi-vaḷangi muḍi vaḷangi* of *SII.* iii, 88, l. 5.

tenth year (A.D. 1188)[87] among the countries taken by Kulōttunga and that, in his numerous inscriptions, Niśśankamalla claims to have led three successful expeditions to the Pāṇḍya country and to have renovated a temple at Rāmēśvaram.[88] The last claim is borne out by a Singalese inscription in Rāmēśvaram engraved on a stone which, according to the inscription itself, was the seat (*āsana*) on which Niśśankamalla used to sit witnessing theatrical performances and listening to music. The inscription also records that the king spent vast treasures in renovating the temple which came thereafter to be called Niśśankamallēśvara. The Pāṇḍyan expeditions of the Ceylon ruler were not by any means so brilliant as these inscriptions make out, and this may be the reason for the silence of the chronicles on the subject.[89]

The third campaign of Kulōttunga in the Pāṇḍya country is described, as we have seen, in the Pudukkottah

[87] *NI.* N, 85.

[88] *CV.* ii. 128, n. 6.

[89] *Ceylon Journal of Science*, G. II, pp. 105—6. Also *CV.* ii, p. 128, n. 6. The inscription mentioned above is 90 of 1905 wrongly noted as Vaṭṭeḻuttu and damaged in *ARE.* 1905. S. Paranavitane, *JRAS—Ceylon Branch*—xxxi, pp. 384—387, postulates three invasions of Ceylon by the Cōḷas before A.D. 1200 on the strength of a statement regarding Kitti in the Sinhalese poem *Sasadāvatā* and the old commentary (*sanne*) on it. The details of the invasions are given only in the commentary, and it may be doubted if, without more evidence, we may connect the rather vague statements in the commentary with the equally vague references to Ceylon in Kulōttunga's inscriptions. P. also says: 'It seems there was a state of chronic warfare between the Cōḷas and Sinhalese from the closing years of the reign of Parākramabāhu I to the end of Polonnaruwa period, in which there were invasions and counter-invasions with varying fortune.' I doubt if the evidence of the *CV.* can support this statement; there was strife in Ceylon and one party or other always sought and gained aid, perhaps mercenary, from the continent. Anikānga, Lokissara, and Māgha himself came to Ceylon with armies recruited on the mainland.

records dated in the thirty-fourth year of the reign. This inscription states definitely that after celebrating a *Vijayābhiṣēka* in Karuvūr, Kulōttunga started on an expedition against the Madura country in order to wear the crown of heroism, that is, to celebrate a *Vīrābhiṣēka.* If account is taken also of the fact that the Vijaya- and Vīrābhiṣēkas seem to be mentioned first only about the twenty-ninth regnal year, we may not be far wrong in assigning some date about A.D. 1205 to this campaign. If this is correct, the expedition must have been directed against Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara who came to the throne in A.D. 1190, and was the first great ruler of the period of Pāṇḍyan revival that followed the close of the Civil War in which Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttunga III had espoused the cause of one or the other of the rival claimants to the throne. It seems probable that Kulaśēkhara was the son and successor of Vikrama Pāṇḍya who had been supported by Kulōttunga. His inscriptions are found in the Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevelly districts.[90] They contain elaborate *praśastis,* one of which sets up the proud claim that before the Pāṇḍyan fish, the fierce tiger of the Cōḷa and the bow of the Cēra hid themselves (in fear). This claim and the desire of Kulōttunga for a Vīrābhiṣēka after his Vijayābhiṣēka at Karuvūr are the only indications that remain of the probable causes of the war between Kulaśēkhara and Kulōttunga III; the inscriptions of the former ruler do not mention the war or any of its incidents. We may not accept literally everything mentioned in the inscriptions

[90] *PK.*, pp. 142—3.

of Kulōttunga; but there is no doubt that Kulaśēkhara paid a heavy penalty for his contumacy. As the war ends with the restoration of Kulaśēkhara, the success of Kulōttunga was certainly not so absolute, and the statement that the Pāṇḍyan ruler and his relatives[91] sought refuge in the forests is mere rhetoric. The sieges of Maṭṭiyūr and Kaḻikkōṭṭai—places not yet identified—the defeat of the army of the Maṟavas and the specific act of vandalism, the demolition of the coronation-hall of the Pāṇḍyas, may well be accepted as facts. This harshness on the part of Kulōttunga proves his consciousness of the increasing weakness of his own position in contrast to the growing strength of the power of the Pāṇḍyas. It also accounts for the retaliation that followed some years later when Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, who must have suffered along with his brother on the occasion of Kulōttunga's invasion, assumed the role of aggressor and carried fire and sword into the Cōḷa country, and performed a Vīrābhiṣēka in the coronation hall of the Cōḷas at Āyirattaḷi *alias* Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷa-puram.[92]

Wars in the North.

The wars waged in the north by Kulōttunga are mentioned for the first time in the Śrīrangam inscription of the nineteenth year in the following terms:

[91]Note that younger brothers are specially mentioned among these; I have pointed out elsewhere, *PK.*, pp. 143—4, that Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, the successor of Jaṭ Kulaśēkhara, was his younger brother.

[92]Among Kulōttunga III's inscriptions from the Pāṇḍya country may be: two from Tirukkaḷākkuḍi (Rd)—39 and 40 of 1916 (Yr. 14), one from Tinnevelly, 28 of 1927 (Yr. 18), one from Caturvēdi-mangalam (Rd)—311 of 1928 (Yr. 21), and one from Tēnūr (Md)—606 of 1926 (Yr. 39).

"(He) despatched matchless elephants, performed heroic deeds, prostrated to the ground the Kings of the North, entered Kacci when (his) anger abated, and levied tribute from all the kings there."

The Pudukkottah inscriptions, dated more than ten years later, add the following:

"having subdued the Vaḍugu (Telugus) who were fierce in war and (thus) brought Vēngai-maṇḍalam under his sway, he was pleased to shower gold and enter the golden city of Uṟangai."

Political conditions.

The incidents thus recorded in Kulōttunga's inscriptions cannot be understood without a brief résumé of the political changes that were taking place outside the Cōḷa Kingdom. Towards the close of the life of Rājarāja II, the Velanāṇḍu kings felt themselves equal to the task of asserting and maintaining their independence against their Cāḷukya-Cōḷa suzerains. This was the period when the Kākatīyas were coming up in the north, while in the west the Cāḷukyas, having suffered a defeat from Kākatīya Prōla, were thrown into the shade by the usurpation of Bijjala. The consequent weakness of the W. Cāḷukya kingdom gave the occasion for the Hoysalas to rise to the rank of an independent power; at the same time the Telugu-Cōḍas and the Velanāṇḍu rulers, who had till then been either subordinate to the Cāḷukyas or had lived in fear of them and therefore in subordinate alliance with the Cōḷas, breathed more freely and soon began to entertain plans of aggrandisement. It is remarkable that no inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II have been found in Nellore or the Circars. And it appears that perhaps Gonka II at

the close of his reign, and certainly his son Rājēndra-cōḍa, assumed the titles and insignia of independent status.[93] In fact with the close of Rājarāja's reign we have come to that interval in the history of the Telugu country in which the Cōḷa power was withdrawn, and the Kākatīya power had not yet taken its place—a period of about a generation in which many minor dynasties like the Kōṭas, Cāgis, Kōnas and others divide the country and owe no allegiance to a common power. About the same time the Telugu-Cōḍas rise into prominence farther south in the districts of Nellore, Cuddapah, Chittoor, North Arcot and Chingleput, and it is to them that the Cōḷas lost Kāñcīpuram and from them that Kulōttunga III recovered the city.

Telugu Cōḍas.

The history of the Telugu-Cōḍas of this period presents some difficult problems of chronology and genealogy, and though there is no lack of evidence, epigraphical and literary, attesting their power and importance, all attempts to evolve a consistent history of the dynasties that comprise this group of kings have met only with limited success.[94] All these rulers called themselves Cōḍas and their sway extended over a considerable portion of the Telugu country; all of them claimed to be descended from Karikāla and to come of the solar race and Kaśyapa *gōtra*. The presence of members of these dynasties as feudatories of Kulōttunga I and his successors in different parts of the Telugu country has been

[93] 49 of 1909; 670 of 1920; *ARE*. 1921, II, 64.

[94] *IA*. xxxviii, pp. 7—10; *NI*. pp. 1430 ff.

indicated in the enumeration of the feudatories mentioned in the inscriptions of each reign. We have now to trace in some detail the relations between the Nellore branch of the Telugu Cōḍas and Kulōttunga III in order to explain the necessity for Kulōttunga's recovery of Kāñcīpuram.

The genealogy of the family starts with two shadowy figures. The first of them was Madhurāntaka Pottappi Cōḷa, so called because he is said to have conquered Madura and founded Pottapi, which has been identified with a village of the same name in the Pullampet Taluq of the Cuddapah district.[95] The other king was Telugu Vidya, who erected a pillar of victory with a Garuḍa on its top at a place called Ujjapuri. The historical part begins with Bēta, the feudatory of Vikramacōḷa.[96] Bēta's son was Eṟasiddhi who had in his turn three sons; Nallasiddha *alias* Manmasiddha,[97] Bēta and Tammusiddha. Some inscriptions[98] of Tammusiddha state that the younger Bēta had no mind to rule and that, on the death of Manmasiddha, he gave up his rights in favour of his younger brother Tammusiddha who crowned himself at Nellore in Ś. 1127 or a little before that date;[99] on the

[95] *EI*. vii, p. 121, n. 5; *ARE*. 1908 II 79.

[96] 583 of 1907.

[97] 578 of 1907 says that Nallasiddha was the son of Eṟasiddha; other inscriptions call the eldest son Manmasiddhi. (*EI*. vii, pp. 153 ff.) Hence the identity of Manmasiddha and Nallasiddha may be accepted *pace* Venkayya, *IA*. xxxviii, p. 10, n. 56. Cf. Sewell, *HISI*. p. 130, n.

[98] 104 of 1892; 35 of 1893; 407, 408 of 1896—all in *EI*. vii ed. Lüders.

[99] *EI*. vii, p. 155.

other hand, another inscription from Kāvali, dated Ś. 1129,[100] omits all mention of the younger Bēta, and states that while Nallasiddha[101] was the crowned king (*abhiṣikta*), his younger brother, Tammusiddha, was ruling the kingdom by his grace—*tat kaṭākṣādēva rājyam karōti*. It is therefore difficult to say whether Tammusiddha ruled only after Manma's death, or conjointly with him. A review of the inscriptions of Kulōttunga III which mention the kings of this line will show that the Kāvali inscription seems to be nearer the truth; it will also bring out clearly the relations in which these kings stood to Kulōttunga in the different stages of his reign.[102]

[100] *NI.* KV. 39.

[101] Venkayya would read Manmasiddha here, *IA.* xxxviii, p. 10, *n.* 56.

[102] Sewell has suggested that Bēta II was Nallasiddha. *HISI.* p. 395. But the number of Nallasiddha's inscriptions and their provenance, together with the claim of laying tribute from Kāñcī (483 of 1906; *NI.* R. 36, G. 1), imply such an active life for Nallasiddha as to falsify completely the statement in the Tammusiddhi inscriptions regarding Bēta's exclusive devotion to religious austerities. On the other hand, if we identify Manmasiddha with Nallasiddha, the other statement in the Tammusiddhi records, that Manma was dead in A.D. 1205 must be declared to be wrong. And it must be acknowledged that the Kāvali inscription (*KV.* 39) mentions only Nallasiddha (Venkayya would read Manmasiddha here, and if this is correct, it directly contradicts the Tammusiddhi records) and Tammusiddha, and states that though the former was the anointed sovereign, still Tammusiddhi carried on the affairs of state by his grace, and thus supports Sewell's suggestion. But if Bēta was Nallasiddha, and was anointed after Manma's demise, who was the author of the Nallasiddha inscriptions, of which there are several, dating from A.D. 1192, if not earlier, some of which doubtless precede the death of Manma, c. A.D. 1205? There seems to be no means of reconciling all the statements in the Tammusiddhi records with the data furnished by the Nallasiddha records. It must be noted also that *NI.* G. 86, dated A.D. 1214, mentions Bācaladēvi, the queen of Manmasiddha, in a manner that implies that Manma was still alive.

Their relations to Kulōttunga III.

In the ninth year of Kulōttunga III, A.D. 1187, Nallasiddharasa, the ruler of Nellore acknowledges the suzerainty of Kulōttunga III.[103] Three years later, A.D. 1190, a Siddhi, called also Madhurāntaka Pottappic-cōḷa, makes a gift to the temple at Nellore, citing the twelfth regnal year of his Cōḷa overlord, Kulōttunga.[104] Then we have a number of gifts, registered in the name of Nūngama, the queen of Nallasiddha, to the temples at Tiruppālaivanam (Chingleput), Kāḷahasti (Chittoor), and Nandalūr (Cuddapah); these records are dated in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twenty-fourth regnal years of Kulōttunga III.[105] It may be noted in passing that a record of Kulōttunga himself, dated in his nineteenth year, is found in the town of Nellore.[106] In another inscription from Nandalūr,[107] Nallansiddha, the son of Madhurāntaka Pottapic-cōḷa Eṛamasiddha, acknowledges the overlordship of Kulōttunga in his twenty-sixth year, A.D. 1204. The latest record in which

[103] *NI.* N. 85. Venkayya says rightly that the inscription is mutilated and the date is lost. *IA.* xxxviii, p. 10, n. 58. But the '*paḍāvaḍu*' with which the second line begins, and the dates in the other inscriptions cited above, make it probable that the regnal year is the ninth of Kulōttunga though it might also be the nineteenth or twenty-ninth. However that may be, it is not easy to accept Venkayya's statement: 'As the former (Nallasiddha) appears to have been a contemporary of Kulōttunga III from his 27th to 35th year, it is clear that he must have come after Tammusiddhi,' when there is no mention of Tammusiddhi earlier than Ś. 1127 i.e. roughly the 27th year of Kulōttunga III, while Nallasiddhi figures in many earlier inscriptions.

[104] *NI.* N. 40. Venkayya thinks that the name of the Nellore king was Manmasiddha (*ibid.* n. 54). This is very likely; for, seeing that Tammusiddha is invariably so styled in Sanskrit, the Siddha of the Sanskrit part of N. 40 may be the elder of the Siddha brothers.

[105] 317 of 1929; 198 of 1892; 601 of 1907.

[106] 197 of 1894.

[107] 578 of 1907.

Nallasiddha recognises Kulōttunga's suzerainty is dated nine years later, A.D. 1213.[108] But in the interval between 1204 and 1213, we have two records of his brother Tammusiddha[109] from the Nellore and Chingleput districts, one of his son Bētarasa[110] at Kāñcīpuram; another from Nandalūr of probably the same prince or another, who is here called Tirukkāḷattidēva, the Tikkanṛpa of literature, and who makes an endowment for the benefit of his father Manumasittarasan and of (*alias ?*) Nallasiddha;[111] and in all these inscriptions, the princes concerned take good care to define in an unmistakable manner their vassal position in relation to Kulōttunga. And this relation is continued almost up to the end of Kulōttunga's reign by another record of the Tirukkāḷattidēva mentioned above[112] dated in the 36th year of Kulōttunga, and yet another[113] from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, dated two years later and mentioning an agent of Śittaraśan in that place.

Kulōttunga's work in the North.

This survey of the relations between the Telugu-Cōḍas and Kulōttunga throughout his reign shows clearly that the Telugu-Cōḍas did not once find themselves strong enough to defy Kulōttunga for any length of time. And the statement in the Śrīrangam epigraph that 'Kulōttunga entered Kāñcī with his anger abated' shows that the campaign was of the nature of a punitive

[108] *NI.* A. 18. Another similar inscription (205 of 1894) is dated A.D. 1209 (Yr. 31).

[109] 195 of 1894; 120 of 1930.

[110] 456 of 1919, cf. *NI.* G. 76 (Yr. 27 of Kulōttunga III) which says that Bētarasa was the son of Nallasiddha.

[111] 582 of 1907; *NI.* N. 101.

[112] *NI.* R. 8.

[113] 201 of 1912.

expedition directed against vassals who had raised the standard of revolt. The Cōḷa supremacy was certainly still maintained in its full vigour up to Cuddapah and Nellore at the time of Kulōttunga's accession.[114] And, except for the short interlude now engaging our attention, Kulōttunga's inscription do not give a contrary impression. There were many indications, to which we have drawn attention in the course of the narrative, that the feudatories of the empire were increasing in their strength and that the moment the central government passed into incompetent hands, the empire would go to pieces. But Kulōttunga III was by no means a weak ruler and on the whole he succeeded, in the midst of many troubles, in maintaining the integrity of his inheritance. The temporary loss of Kāñcīpuram in this reign and the need that arose for recovering it after a fight were the first clear indications of what was coming in the future.

There are some inscriptions of Nallasiddha which seem to throw some light on the period when he declared independence, but as often happens in Telugu Cōḷa history, the evidence of these records raises more questions than it helps us to answer. The earliest of these inscriptions is a Kanarese record dated Ś. 1114 (A.D. 1192-3) and describes the ruler as Bhujabalavīra Nalasiddhanadēva Cōḷa Mahārāja ruling at Vallūrapura, already familiar to us as the capital of Mahārājapāḍi 7000 and eight miles to the N. W. of Cuddapah. This chieftain boasts that he levied tribute from

[114] *ARE*. 1905, II, 19; 571 of 1907; 195 of 1892; *NI*. N. 85, etc.

Kāñcī.[115] Except the fact of Kulōttunga undertaking a campaign which he closed by entering Kāñcī in force, there is no evidence in support of this claim of the Telugu Cōḍa chieftain. And here we should not omit to notice that in the inscriptions of Tammusiddhi, the conquest of Kāñcī is ascribed, though only by a metaphor,[116] to his uncle, an earlier Nallasiddha, the brother of Eṟasiddha. Perhaps this claim on the part of Nallasiddha to have levied tribute from Kāñcī implies only that for some time he stopped the usual tribute to the Cōḷa monarch and was still left in undisturbed possession of Kāñcī. However that may be, Nalla-

[115]483 of 1906. Venkayya was inclined to distinguish between the Bhujabalavīra Nallasiddhanadēva Cōḷa Mahārāja of this inscription and Nallasiddha, the son of Eṟasiddha (*IA.* xxxviii, p. 10). The former is represented also by other inscriptions from the Nellore area. *NI.* G. 1 is dated Ś. 1.05, which may be 1105, (A.D. 1183) and contains the expression........*kappam konna*....KV. 13 also mentioning the levying of tribute from Kāñcī is dated Ś. 1136, and R. 36 with the same titles as 483 of 1906 is dated three years later, A.D. 1217. The Bhujabalavīra records are few and extend over practically the whole of Kulōttunga's reign; I think that Nallasiddha, the son of Eṟasiddha, is himself the author of these records the titles in which are indicative of his claim to independence. Such pretentious records could not be issued every day and were published whenever, in the estimate of Nallasiddha, Kulōttunga was too preoccupied to notice his action. Some such assumption would explain the facts so far known. But this means, once more, that we set aside the testimony of the Tammusiddhi records on the death of the eldest son of Eṟasiddha. If these assumptions are correct, we may distinguish two periods when Nallasiddha found it possible to act like an independent king; (1) A.D. 1183-1192, when Kulōttunga was engaged in the Pāṇḍyan campaigns, (2) from A.D. 1214 towards the close of Kulōttunga's reign when that monarch was, as we shall see, once more drawn into an encounter with the Pāṇḍyas. It may be noted that in this second period, we get records of a Bhujabalavīra Eṟṟasiddha (*NI.* A. 38, R. 38, G. 59, G. 58) who rules in the early years of Rājarāja III, and like Nallasiddha, sometimes acknowledges the Cōḷa suzerainty and sometimes does not. Was this Eṟṟasiddha the son of Nallasiddha? There is a record in Tiruppukkuḻi (Ch.), 192 of 1916, of the fifteenth year of a Nallasiddharasa of the family of Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi. It is engraved in very faulty language and gives the usual Pallava titles. Its date and relation, if any, to the Telugu-Cōḍa Nallasiddha cannot be determined.

[116]*EI.* vii, p. 150—*dik dakṣiṇā gaḷita-Kāñciguṇā babhūva* (l. 17).

siddha's career as an independent ruler was soon cut short by Kulōttunga's occupation of Kāñcī about A.D. 1196, and the success of Kulōttunga's enterprise is attested not only by his inscriptions which state that he entered Kāñcī with his anger abated, but by the series of dated inscriptions of Nallasiddha which have been cited above and are dated in the regnal years of Kulōttunga III.

For the rest of his reign, Kulōttunga had no trouble from the Telugu Cōḍas, though in the last few years, when the Cōḷa monarch had to meet a powerful enemy in Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, they seem to have made another and a more successful effort to assert their independence. But Kulōttunga is seen fighting once more in the north sometime about A.D. 1208. In this campaign he claims to have subdued the fierce Vaḍugas (Telugas), established his supremacy over Vengi and entered Uṟangai. Who were the fierce Vaḍugas and where was Uṟangai ? Is there any reason to suppose that Vengi was regained for the Cōḷa empire by Kulōttunga even for a short while ? In the absence of a single Cōḷa record of this period to the north of Nellore, it is not difficult to answer the last question in the negative. And if we recall the fact that the power of the Kākatīyas had been growing for some time and spreading over the ancient kingdom of Vengi, imposing a new suzerainty over the chieftaincies that had emerged there after the withdrawal of Cōḷa power from the region, and that the greatest monarch of this line, Gaṇapati, had come to the throne by A.D. 1199, the most natural way of interpreting Kulōttunga's claim seems to

be to suppose that he warred with the Kākatīya ruler and entered Warangal, his capital, sometimes called Orungallu[117] a name which is easily Tamilised into Uṟangai. But of such a war ending so favourably for the Cōḷa monarch, we have no indications except the vague statements of the two Pudukkottah records. No details of this campaign are forthcoming, and the Cōḷa entry into Warangal, if that is the real meaning of these inscriptions, must be held to be a case of fabrication. In the present state of the evidence, we could not even say if there was any basis in fact for the tall claims set up on behalf of the Cōḷa monarch in the records of his reign.

Karuvūr.

The campaign against Kongu culminating in the triumphal entry into Karuvūr and the celebration of the *Vijayābhiṣēka* in that city constitute another obscure episode of the reign. The entry into Karuvūr is, as we have seen, mentioned for the first time in the sixteenth year of the reign,[118] and Kongu bears the name Vīra-śōḷa-maṇḍalam in a record of the tweny-sixth year.[119] If the Pudukkottah inscriptions, the only ones that contain a direct account of this war, may be taken to have arranged the events in the order of their occurrence, this campaign may be assigned to the years following the close of the second Pāṇḍyan war, to the years, say, A.D. 1190—1194. The *Kulōttungan-Kōvai* also repeatedly mentions the war

[117] 163, 169 etc. of 1913.

[118] 397 of 1925; 18 of 1925 which is doubtfully dated (1)5 also mentions it.

[119] 227 of 1917.

against the Cēra and Kongu; but neither the inscriptions nor the poem contain any clue to the causes or the incidents of the war. A number of inscriptions of the reign are also found in Karuvūr. Others are found elsewhere in the Kongu country, including Tagaḍūr, and in parts of Mysore, and clearly point to a recovery of Cōḷa dominion in this quarter, and a partial reversal of Hoysala expansion that began at the end of the reign of Kulōttunga I. We shall see that the Adigaimāns once more acknowledged the Cōḷa suzerainty in this reign, and the inscriptions of the Adigaimān who styles himself Viḍukāḍaḷagiya Perumāḷ suggest that he might have had a share in the restoration of Cōḷa dominion in this quarter.[120]

Pāṇḍyan Invasion.

Towards the end of Kulōttunga's reign, the Pāṇḍyan throne passed to Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (1216), possibly after the demise of his brother Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara, and the new ruler lost no time in starting a war against the old Cōḷa monarch who had, more than ten years before, deeply humiliated him and his elder brother in their own capital and perhaps also demolished their coronation-hall in Madura. For the successes of Sundara Pāṇḍya against Kulōttunga III, we have to depend solely on the inscriptions of the former. The Cōḷa inscriptions of the period observe a total silence which will cause no surprise when it is recollected how the inscriptions of the reign of Sōmēśvara I, W. Cāḷukya, omit all reference to the battle of Koppam.

[120] *ARE*. 1907 II, 67.

But the records of Sundara Pāṇḍya are quite specific and full. And their account of the misfortunes of the Cōḷas is by no means less trustworthy than the record of Pāṇḍyan defeats in the inscriptions of Kulōttunga himself.

In an inscription of the third year[121] (A.D. 1218–19) of Sundara Pāṇḍya, he is described by the title : *Śōṇāḍu vaḷangiyaruḷiya*, 'who was pleased to give (back) the Cōḷa country.' Another inscription of his fifteenth year[122] states specifically that he gave a crown and Muḍikoṇḍa-śōḷa-puram to Kulōttunga-Cōḷa. Sundara Pāṇḍya's inscriptions are actually found in the Cōḷa country, though none of them seems to fall within Kulōttunga's reign.[123] But the two inscriptions of Sundara Pāṇḍya just cited leave no room for doubt that the last years of Kulōttunga turned out disastrously for him and that in his old age, he had to taste the bitter fruit of the Pāṇḍyan policy of his earlier years. We must now let the *praśasti* of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I describe the course of events:

"In order that the authority of the tiger (seal) might recede to the land of Ponni (Cōḷa country) and that of the carp might gain the upper hand in the land of Kanni (Pāṇḍya country), (he) spread (over the land) horses and elephants, fierce (in war), and consigned to the red flames (of fire) (the cities of) Tañjai and Uṟandai; destroyed the excellence of the crystal water in the wells and rivers, so that the *kāvi* and *nīlam* (flowers) lost their beauty; razed (to the ground) many pavilions, high ramparts, great enclosures, towers, theatres, palaces, mansions and *maṇḍapas*; drew tears in streams from the eyes of the

[121] 322 of 1928.
[122] 9 of 1926. *ARE.* 1926, II, 32; 1928, II, 18. *Contra PK.* pp. 152, *n.* 1.
[123] *PK. ibid.*

women belonging to the kings who did not come to make their submission; ploughed (the enemy country) with asses and sowed *kavaḍi* (coarse millet); fought the Śembiyan (Cōḷa) till his anger abated, and drove him into the wilderness; seized (his) crown of fine gold, and was pleased to give it to the bard (*pāṇan*);[124] spread his fame by performing a *vīrābhiṣēka* in the coronation hall of the Cōḷa Vaḷava at Āyirattaḷi, which was too good for verse and had a golden enclosure which touched the sky (traversed by) the Sun; mounted the strong rutting elephant which returned each day after plucking the fearful heads of enemy kings; accompanied only by his fair arms and (his) sharp disc which abolished common (ownership) of the whole earth surrounded by the water (ocean), he entered the sacred precincts of the divine Puliyūr, where dwelt the Brahmins whose knowledge of the excellent Veda was free from doubts, and (there) rejoiced in his heart at the sight of the sacred form of the (god) who, with the goddess on his side, so danced that the golden hall increased in lustre, and made obeisance to the flower-like red feet, unattained alike by Brahmā (seated) on the beautiful flower and Viṣṇu (wearing) the cool basil; and seated in the shining crystal *maṇḍapa,* resembling the high Mēru, the support of the world, brought and fixed in Pon-Amarāvati surrounded by lotus ponds, in which the humming of bees roused from their sleep swans with curved wings, he invited (the Cōḷa) saying (that he would) restore (to him) the Cōḷa land rich in gardens and fields, and the garland and crown he had lost; the Vaḷava, who had got beyond the Vāḷagiri after he had lost (his) high estate, now entered with his relatives, presented his son (to the Pāṇḍya) saying: 'Your name', and prostrated himself, a suppliant beneath the victorious throne; (then the Pāṇḍya) made a gift (to the Cōḷa) with water which cooled the heat caused by his earlier loss, and sent him back after restoring to him what he had once lost, viz., the title of *Cōḷapati* and the old city, together with a (royal) letter (*tirumugam*) marked by the beautiful carp which shone by being worshipped by the kings of the sea-girt earth and (setting forth that it was) the agreement

[124] Cf. the grant of the title 'Pāṇḍya' to a bard by Kulōttunga, ante p. 126. See also 481 and 482 of 1908 on a Sundara Pāṇḍya's grant of the Cōḷa country to the Bāṇa-pati.

witnessing for all time the restoration of the wide land at an auspicious hour (?)".

The main incidents of the campaign were thus an invasion by Sundara Pāṇḍya of the Cōḷa country reaching as far north as Cidambaram and marked by considerable damage to life and property along the route of the march; the inability of Kulōttunga to resist the advance of the Pāṇḍya ruler and his seeking refuge in flight; finally, the restoration, possibly after some negotiations, of the kingdom and crown to Kulōttunga on condition that he acknowledged Sundara Pāṇḍya as suzerain. The tables were thus completely turned; in almost every detail, Sundara Pāṇḍya followed the example set by Kulōttunga during his third campaign against the Pāṇḍya country. At one stroke the Pāṇḍya king not only destroyed the overlordship of the Cōḷa and declared his own independence, but actually compelled his quondam superior to do homage to him in turn. This was in 1216-17. We shall see later that the attempt of the Cōḷa ruler to regain his independence led to another Pāṇḍyan invasion with more disastrous results.

Results of the Invasion.

Now why did the Pāṇḍya, if he was so successful against the Cōḷa as his inscriptions assert, not annex the Cōḷa country to his kingdom? One would expect that after all that they had suffered from the Cōḷas since the days of Rājarāja I, if not earlier, the Pāṇḍyas, when they got the chance, would put a final end to the power of their ancient rivals. But that is not the way of Indian monarchy. In its code, respect for an ancient and

established line of royalty was a more abiding sentiment than irritation due to transient political occurrences. Never to disestablish an old line of kings is the rule of honour and principle of policy laid down in the *śāstras.* However drastic their treatment of individual Pāṇḍyan kings might have been, the Cōḷas did not venture to displace the Pāṇḍyan line altogether. Sundara Pāṇḍya could not act differently towards the Cōḷas now. And this no doubt is part of the answer to our question. But there was more. The subsequent course of history shows that the Pāṇḍya did not reap the full benefit of his victory on this occasion and that the Cōḷa kingdom suffered less damage than it might have done.

Hoysala intervention.

There was a third power at this time in South India which seems to have interfered to redress the balance in favour of the Cōḷas. This was the power of the Hoysalas which had been growing steadily for a century since the time when Viṣṇuvardhana started the policy of expansion and put an end to Cōḷa power over a great part of the Mysore country. By the time of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya's invasion of the Cōḷa country, the reign of Ballāḷa II was drawing to a close. Among his queens is mentioned a princess, undoubtedly of Tamil Cōḷa origin, and it is likely that the Cōḷa ruler turned to Ballāḷa for help in his trouble. At any rate, there is a Hoysala inscription which clearly implies that when Ballāḷa was still living, his son Vīra Narasimha marched against Śrīrangam in the South.[125]

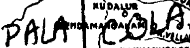
[125] *Hoysaṇa Śrī-Vīraballāḷa-dēvana magam Vīra-narasimha-dēvanu teṅkalu-Raṅgana mēle naḍavandu. EC.* vi, Cm. 56.

The date of this inscription presents some difficulties; but it corresponds in all probability to the 12th September, A. D. 1217.[126] Another inscription describes Ballāḷa himself as the establisher of the Cōḷa kingdom and the lion to the Pāṇḍya-elephant (*Cōḷa-rājya-pratiṣṭhācāryam, Pāṇḍya gaja-kēsari*), calls his son Narasimha the sole protector of the Cōḷa line (*Cōḷakulaikarakṣa*), and implies that Ballāḷa II must have assumed his titles before the beginning of A.D. 1218.[127] An inscription from Gōvindanahaḷḷi describes with great force the valour of Narasimha in the campaigns he undertook for the restoration of the Cōḷa. A still later grant from Bēlūr (Ś. 1184) states that he rescued the Cōḷa hidden behind the dust, viz., the crowd of his enemies, and earned for himself the titles *Cōḷasthāpana* and *Pāṇḍyakhaṇḍana*.[128] It can be seen from the names of Narasimha's enemies that this campaign is different from the one recorded in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription of Rājarāja III's reign, and is perhaps the earlier one with which we are here concerned. And though the Kanarese *campū*, the *Jagannāthavijaya* identifies the Cōḷa king protected by Ballāḷa II with Rājarāja (*rājarāja-pratiṣṭhā-niratam*),[129] this does not necessarily mean that Kulōttunga III was no more at the time; for the Pāṇḍyan invasion and the Cōḷa restoration alike fall within the short period of the joint-rule of Kulōttunga and Rājarāja (1216-18); Rājarāja

[126] *JIH.* vi, p. 205. *Contra EI.* vii, p. 162 and n. 10. See p. 177, n. 15 below.
[127] *EC.* iv. Nl. 29; *JIH.* vi. p. 201.
[128] *EC.* iv, Kr. 63; also Bl. 74. *PK.* p. 150; *JIH.* vi, pp. 203—4.
[129] *JIH.* vi, p. 200.

COLA EMPIRE

UNDER KULOTTUNGA III



who had a long reign before him was the real beneficiary of the Hoysala intervention, and this must be the reason for his name being chosen by the Kanarese poet. On the other hand, Sundara Pāṇḍya's inscriptions mention Kulōttunga III where they specify the name of the Cōḷa monarch, and this is equally intelligible ; for there was glory in having defeated a glorious monarch who had fought many wars with success, and no point in mentioning a young prince who had just been made heir-apparent and of whom little was yet known. It is thus clear that the Hoysala intercession on behalf of the Cōḷa must have had something to do with the generosity of Sundara Pāṇḍya towards his vanquished enemy.

Death of Kulōttunga III.

Kulōttunga III must have died soon after the Pāṇḍyan invasion. The latest regnal year found in his inscriptions is the fortieth,[130] A.D. 1217-18. Kulōttunga III was also called Vīrarājēndradēva, and a whole series of inscriptions containing this title, though not the name Kulōttunga, undoubtedly belong to this reign and are dated in regnal years ranging from the second to the thirty-sixth. As already noted, the king seems to have had also the title Komara or Kumāra Kulōttungan.[131] A new street formed in Tiruppugalūr in the tenth year of the reign was called Rājākkaḷ-tambirān-tiruvīdi,[132] possibly after another surname of the ruling king. One inscription from

[130] 162 of 1926; 273 of 1914 etc.

[131] 259 of 1925; *ante*, pp. 115-6.

[132] 80 of 1928.

Tiruvaṇṇāmalai[133] is dated in the eleventh year of Tribhuvana-Vīra-Cōḷa-dēva; but considering the fact that the astronomical details preserved by this record were found by Kielhorn[134] not to work out correctly for this reign, it may be doubted if this title was assumed by the king so early in his reign. The earliest genuine record containing this title seems to be dated in the twenty-fourth year;[135] the name recurs thereafter in several later inscriptions and in the great temple, Tribhuvanēśvara, in Tribhuvanam, in the Tanjore district. The form Tribhuvanacōḷadēva is also known.[136] The town of Karuvūr was renamed Muḍi-vaḻangu-śōḻapuram;[137] there is also mentioned, in another inscription, a village of the name of Muḍi-vaḻangu-śōḻa-caturvēdimangalam ;[138] these facts show that Muḍi-vaḻangu-śōḻa was one of the titles of the king, assumed, doubtless, in commemoration of the restitution of the Pāṇḍya crown to the rulers of that country.[139] An inscription of the twenty-third year gives the characteristic titles of Kulōttunga III and calls the ruler Tribhuvanacakravartin Śōḻa-Kēraḷa-dēva,[140] thus confirming the statement of the Pudukkottah inscriptions that after the conquest of Karuvūr, he assumed that title. Kongu came to be called

[133] 522 of 1902.

[134] *EI*. viii, pp. 7—8.

[135] 554 of 1904. *Contra* Hultzsch *SII*. iii, p. 205 and n. 5.

[136] 316 of 1909 (n.-d.)

[137] 61 of 1890 (Yr. 23).

[138] 659 of 1902 (Yr. 37).

[139] Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I also took the title: Muḍi-vaḻangum-perumāḷ, *PK*. p. 153.

[140] 75 of 1925.

Śōḷa-Kēraḷa-maṇḍalam. It is doubtful, however, if some inscriptions with no other titles in them than Śōḷa-Kēraḷadēva can be ascribed to Kulōttunga III.[141] Lastly, as can be seen from a record of one of his feudatories, the king seems to have also had the title Karikāla-Cōḷa.[142]

Gangaikoṇḍaśōḷapuram is mentioned in the inscriptions of the reign rather less frequently than one might expect,[143] but there is no doubt that it was the capital of the kingdom. The more ancient cities of Tanjore and Uṟaiyūr still occupied a prominent position and, together with Āyirattaḷi, constituted subsidiary capitals, the capture of which gave Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I the practical mastery of the Cōḷa kingdom. Vikramaśōḷapuram is mentioned early in the reign as another royal residence.[144] A record of the thirty-fifth year casually mentions the king's stay at Madura, perhaps a reference to the third Pāṇḍyan campaign of Kulōttunga.[145]

Buildings.

Kulōttunga III was a great builder and his reign is a noteworthy epoch in the annals of Cōḷa architecture. The public buildings, mostly religious structures, undertaken and completed in the reign are enumerated in the Pudukkottah inscriptions cited earlier and in a Sanskrit

[141] *ARE*. 1925, II, 22.

[142] 538 of 1902 (Yr. 27).

[143] 454 of 1912.

[144] 114 of 1919.

[145] 339 of 1914.

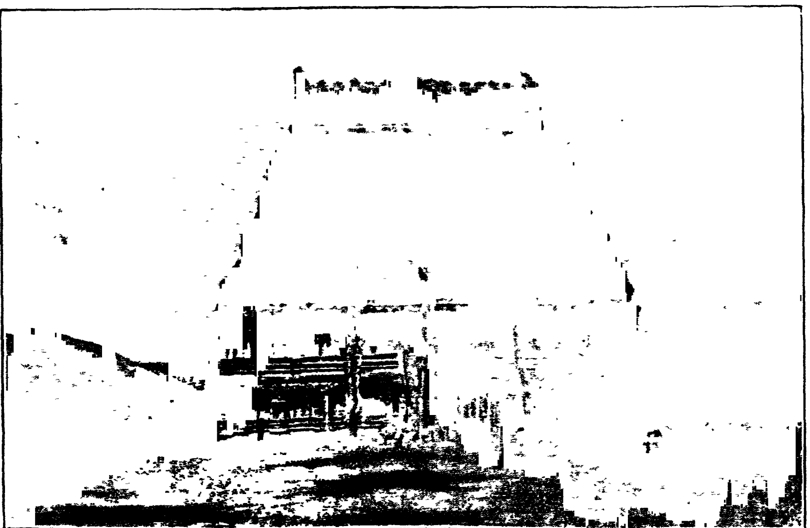
inscription[146] engraved round the central shrine of the temple of Kampaharēśvara (called Tribhuvana-vīrēśvara in the inscription) at Tribhuvanam, the most magnificent monument of the reign. Not much attention has yet been given to this great temple, which deserves to be better known than it is. Though its general design recalls in many ways that of the Tanjore temple, it has still several significant features that distinguish it from the earlier model and mark the growing desire to fill the entire wall space with sculpture panels and decorative designs. The temple contains also an excellent series of Rāmāyaṇa reliefs that await detailed study. The temple was consecrated by the king's spiritual guru, Īśvaraśiva, the son of Śrīkaṇṭha Śambhu and the author of a theological treatise, the *Siddhānta-ratnākara*.[147]

Besides constructing this fine temple, the king claims to have erected the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of Sabhāpati, the *gōpura* of goddess Girīndrajā (Śivakāmi) and the verandah round the enclosure (*prākāra harmya*) in the temple at Cidambaram; he also improved the temples of Ēkāmrēśvara at Kāñcīpuram and of Hālāhalāsya at Madura; the great Śiva temples at Tiruviḍaimarudūr and Tiruvārūr besides the Rājarājēśvara temple, perhaps of Dārāśuram, were the recipients of the king's devoted attention. At Tiruvārūr, he built the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* and the big *gōpura* of Valmīkēśvara.

[146] 190 of 1907.

[147] *ARE*. 1908 II, 64—5.

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Main Gopura, Kampaharēśvara Temple, Tribhuvanam.

Famine and famine relief.

In the twenty-third and twenty-fourth years of the reign, there was apparently a widespread scarcity of food-grain resulting in acute famine. The inscriptions record nothing of state action by way of famine relief; but it would not be safe to conclude that the state did nothing in such a situation. It should not be forgotten that the inscriptions are the records of a narrow range of transactions and are by no means the Moral and Material Progress Reports of the times. It is therefore not a little remarkable that an inscription from North Arcot (Tiruvaṇṇāmalai)[148] records that during the famine, when rice was selling at one-fourth of a measure per *kāśu,* two persons started relief works in the form of an embankment to the river and the construction of a fresh tank, and paid the labourers in gold, paddy or any other form that they desired. The idea of organised famine relief was therefore quite well known, and it is only reasonable to presume that when private charity undertook such relief when required, the government would not have omitted to exert itself likewise. On the other hand, it is clear that the relief afforded by such measures did not go far enough, and unfortunate individuals who were the victims of famine were sometimes forced to seek other remedies. A Tanjore (Tiruppāmburam) inscription[149] of the twenty-third year states, for instance, that owing to bad times and the high price of food-grains, a *veḷḷāla* and his two daughters sold them-

[148] 560 of 1902: *irupattu-nālāvadu pañjattile kāśukku uḻakku ariśi viṟkka....ponnum tēḍina arttamum nellum aḍaiya iṭṭu tirunadiyaik-kaṭṭi ēri kāṇ-kaiyālum.*

[149] 86 of 1911.

selves as slaves to the local *maṭha* for 110 *kāśus*, in order to escape death by starvation.[150]

Administration and extent of the empire.

The difficulties that Kulōttunga faced and, for the most part, overcame, did not result in the break-up of the administrative system or in the diminution of the extent of the empire, at least, up to the invasion of Sundara Pāṇḍya and the subversion of Cōḷa authority. The repeated references to officials like Kaḷappāḷarāya, Nuḷambādhirāja and Pāṇḍya-rāja,[151] and the part they take in conducting local enquiries on important affairs that came on appeal to the central government,[152] together with the careful watch they maintain over the constitution and functioning of rural assemblies,[153] form sufficient proof that the system of administration developed in the tenth and eleventh centuries was still functioning with tolerable efficiency at the beginning of the thirteenth. That a partial resurvey of land must have been undertaken in Tanjore becomes clear from some inscriptions of the reign of Rājēndra III from Kōvilūr[154] which mention a survey of the thirty-eighth

[150]The price of paddy mentioned in 86 of 1911 is 3 *nāḻis* per *kāśu*; this would mean, in terms of rice (converting at the ratio ½ of rice to paddy, the usual rate quoted in inscriptions), 1½ measures of rice per *kāśu*. 560 of 1902 of the next year from North Arcot gives the rate ¼ measure per *kāśu*. If the *kāśu* was the same coin in both instances, the famine must have prevailed over a somewhat wide area, and become very much more acute in the second year of the scarcity than in the first. If this surmise is correct, 86 of 1911 would be the case of a man whose resources gave way at an early stage in the famine, when measures of public relief either by state authorities or by private individuals were not yet thought of.

[151]457 of 1902.

[152]83 of 1926.

[153]113 of 1928.

[154]188, 216 of 1908.

year of Periyadēvar Tribhuvanavīradēva. The extent of Kulōttunga's sway is attested by the presence of his records at Tinnevelly in the south,[155] at Hēmāvati, Avani and Yedurūr in Mysore,[156] at Taḍāvūr, Tagaḍūr and Karuvūr in the Kongu country,[157] and in the north, at Nellore and Reḍḍipāḷem in the Nellore district and at Nandalūr and Pottappi in the Cuddapah district.[158] It is remarkable that one of the inscriptions of Kulōttunga from Mysore states that Vallāḷadēva was ruling the earth in the twelfth year of Kulōttunga III,[159] doubtless a reference to Ballāḷa II, the Hoysala ruler, whose queen was a Cōḷamahādēvi, clearly a Cōḷa princess.[160]

Feudatories.

The relations between Kulōttunga and his Telugu-Cōḍa vassals of the north have been discussed already. We may now proceed to enumerate the feudatories of the emperor in other parts of the dominion, and also notice some Telugu chieftains not mentioned already. A *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tribhuvanamalla Malli Cōḍa of Hēmāvati acknowledges Kulōttunga's supremacy very early in the reign.[161] The Ganga chieftain of Kōlār, Amarābharaṇa

Gangas.

Śīyaganga, is represented by inscriptions ranging from the third to the thirty-fourth year of Kulōttunga's reign. He had also the name Sūra Nāyaka, and one of his sons endowed a

[155] 28 of 1927.
[156] 117 of 1899; 460 of 1911; 473 of 1911.
[157] 461 of 1913; 563 of 1902; 60 of 1890; 141 of 1905.
[158] 193 of 1894; *NI.* G. 86; 601, 602 of 1907; 435 of 1911.
[159] 460 of 1911—*EC.* x. Mb. 44 (b).
[160] *ARE.* 1912 II 30. *PK.* p. 148.
[161] 117 of 1899 (Yr. 2).

lamp at Kāḷahasti in the third year (A. D. 1181).[162] He himself endowed a lamp in Kāñcīpuram in the twenty-seventh year (A. D. 1205)[163] and another at Kāḷahasti seven years later.[164] His queen Ariyapiḷḷai made gifts to the Tiruvallam temple.[165] This chieftain was the patron of the Tamil grammarian Pavaṇandi, a Jaina writer, whose *Nannūl* has practically displaced all other manuals of Tamil grammar.

Other chieftains of Ganga extraction were:—Pirudivi Gangan Aḻagiya Śōḻan, ruling in Pangaḷanāḍu, who made gifts to the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai temple in the thirteenth and twenty-seventh regnal years of Kulōttunga III ;[166] Uttama Cōḷa Ganga *alias* Śelva Ganga, whose wife consecrated an image of Tirunāvukkaraśudēva at Agastyakoṇḍa (North Arcot) ;[167] and Śōḷagangadēva one of whose *agambaḍi mudalis* endowed a *śandiviḷakku* at Tirunīrmalai, (Chingleput).[168]

Bāṇas.

The Bāṇas are represented by a number of minor celebrities and one powerful chieftain. Among the former may be noticed in particular, Ēkavāśagan Kulōttungaśōḻa Vāṇakōvaraiyan a native of Kaḷattūr,[169] who is first mentioned in the

[162] 195 of 1892.
[163] 10 of 1893.
[164] 116 of 1922.
[165] 303 of 1897.
[166] 546, 558 of 1902.
[167] 559 of 1906 (Yr. 14).
[168] 546 of 1912, (Yr. 34).
[169] 476 of 1907 (Yr. 33).

second year,[170] and who continues to make donations in the Salem, Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts almost to the end of the reign,[171] and one of whose subordinates, a Karkaṭakarāja, is mentioned in an inscription of the thirty-eighth year.[172] The prominent Bāṇa chieftain of the period was the ruler of Magadai-maṇḍalam represented in several inscriptions of the reign, some of them in good Tamil verse, as the hero of several battles and the builder of many temples. He is often called Ponparappina Magadēśan in commemoration of his having gilded the roof of the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.[173] One of his ministers (*sandhi-vigrahi*) is said to have constructed a *maṇḍapa* in Kiḷūr.[174] He himself endowed some lamps at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai[175] and assigned some dues as revenue to the Kiḷūr temple.[176] One of his *agambaḍi mudalis* also endowed lamps in Aragaṇḍanallūr.[177] He is also called Āragaḷūruḍaiyān and Rājarājadēvan; Āragaḷūr in the Salem district was his headquarters and it would seem that being born in the reign of Rājarājadēva, he was named after the ruling sovereign of the time. One other chieftain, perhaps of the same family, is mentioned as enjoying the *kāṇi* of Kūgaiyūr in South Arcot where he constructed a stone temple, Śrī Kailāsa, with *maṇḍapas, prākāras* and *gōpuras,* set up an image called Pon-

170 166 of 1908.
171 461 of 1913 (Yr. 5); 72 of 1890 (Yr. 28); 476 of 1907 (Yr. 33) etc.
172 588 of 1908.
173 24 b of 1903 (Yr. 4); 557 of 1902 (Yr. 35).
174 291 of 1902 (Yr. 20).
175 532 of 1902 (Yr. 21).
176 283 of 1902 (Yr. 33).
177 388 of 1902 (Yr. 31).

parappina-īśvara, and constructed a tank and provided for its upkeep.[178]

Śāmbuvarāyas.

The Śengēṇis or Śāmbuvarāyas, the Kāḍavarāyas and the Cēdirāyas form three clans of powerful feudatories in the region comprising the two Arcot districts, and portions of Chingleput and Chittoor. Among the Śāmbuvarāyas may be noticed: Ammaiyappan Pāṇḍināḍu Koṇḍān Kaṇḍar Sūriyan Rājarāja who regulated the affairs of the temple at Brahmadēśam (S. Arcot),[179] constructed a *maṇḍapa* at Eṇṇāyiram,[180] and presented two *paṭṭams* to the temple at Accarapākkam;[181] Vīraśōḻan Attimallan and Āḷappiṟandān Ediriliśōḻa, who ranged themselves in opposite camps;[182] Ammaiyappan Kaṇṇuḍaipperumāḷ *alias* Vikrama-śōḻa;[183] Vīrarākkada, who styles himself a Pallava, though he uses the Śengēṇi and Śāmbuvarāya titles, and assigns some taxes from *dēvadāna* villages to the temple itself;[184] Kulōttunga-śōḻa who built a *māḷigai* in the Tūṇāṇḍār temple at Śīyamangalam (N. Arcot)[185] and gave twelve *vēlis* of land to the same temple;[186] Śōḻappiḷḷai *alias* Aḻagiya-śōḻa (the son of Ammaiyappan), who

178 93 of 1918 (Yr. 6); cf. p. 110 *ante.*

179 167, 176 of 1918 (Yr. 4).

180 345 of 1917 (Yr. 6).

181 239 of 1901 (Yr. 12).

182 254 of 1919 (Yr. 11).

183 620 of 1919 (Yr. 13).

184 58 of 1908 (Yr. 17). Possibly the Śengēṇis and Kāḍavarāyas (Pallavas) contracted dynastic alliances in this period, if they were not, from the beginning, different branches of the same stock. See ante p. 86.

185 61 of 1900 (Yr. 20).

186 62 of 1900 (Yr. 24).

presented to the Aruḷāla Perumāḷ temple an entire village including the taxes due from it,[187] and gave some land together with the taxes due therefrom to the temple at Tiruvōttūr (N. Arcot) ;[188] Aḻagiya Śīyan, whose name suggests some close connection between him and the contemporary Kāḍava chieftain, perhaps the father of Kōpperuñjinga who was also called Aḻagiya Śīyan,—a suggestion enforced by the fact that the Śāmbuvarāya makes a gift to an image set up by the Kāḍava's mother in the temple at Tiruveṇṇainallūr;[189] and lastly, Śengēṇi Miṇḍan Attimallan also called Kulōttunga-śōḻa, who makes gifts in Tiruvōttūr and Tiruvallam in North Arcot as well as Accarapākkam in Chingleput.[190]

The Kāḍavas.

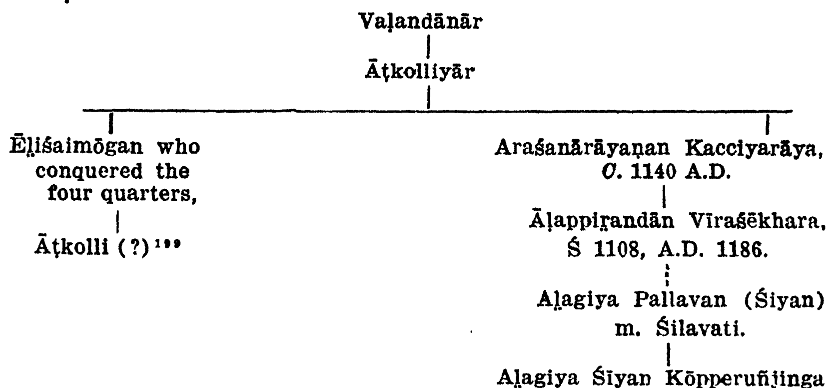
Let us now turn to the Kāḍavas. The role of this important line of feudatories in the history of this period has been briefly pointed out already.[191] The inscriptions of the reign of Kulōttunga III attest the increasing power of these chieftains who claimed descent from the ancient Pallavas. The central figure among the Kāḍavas of this reign was Kūḍalūr Araśanārāyaṇan Ēḻiśaimōgan *alias* Jananātha Kacciyarāyan.[192] He was, as his name implies, the son of that Araśanārāyaṇan who flourished

[187] 36 of 1893 (Yr. 27).
[188] 94 of 1900 (Yr. 33). This princeling is also called Edirili-śōḻa. It is not clear if he was the same as Āḷappiṟandān Edirilíśōḷa mentioned above.
[189] 487 of 1921. Note, however, that this inscription is a later copy.
[190] 80 of 1900 (Yr. 2); 301 of 1897 (Yr. 8); 240 of 1901 (Yr. 15). The last record gives him the Kulōttunga-śōḻa title; he may be therefore identical with the chief of this title mentioned in 61 of 1900 (Yr. 20) and noticed above.
[191] *Ante*, pp. 77—8.
[192] 157 of 1906.

in the reign of Kulōttunga II, and this fact is expressly mentioned in a record of A.D. 1184.[193] There is an inscription found in two places, Vṛddhācalam and Tiruveṇṇainallūr,[194] which is a *praśasti* in Tamil verse, recounting the deeds of some members of the Kāḍava line. The chief last mentioned in this *praśasti* is called Āḷappiṟandān Vīraśēkharan alias Kāḍavarāyan, and is described as the son of Araśanārāyaṇan Kacciyarāyan *alias* Kāḍavarāyan. This fact together with the date of the *praśasti*, Śaka 1108 (A.D. 1186), leads us to identify him with Ēḻiśaimōgan, the son of Araśanārāyaṇa.[195] If this is correct, he must have inherited the title Kacciyarāyan from his father. Inscriptions mentioning Vīraśēkhara and giving him the titles Āḷappiṟandān, Kāḍavarāya, etc., or mentioning his connection with Kūḍalūr occur also, as we shall see, in the later regnal years of Kulōttunga III; this fact also tells in favour of the identity proposed above. The Kāḍava *praśasti* gives the genealogy of the line for four generations. After Vīrasēkhara, however, there is a break. The next name we come to is that of Kūḍal Āḷappiṟandān Aḻagiya Pallavan Kāḍavarāyan who figures in an inscription of the thirty-third year of Kulōttunga III. The inscription says that he confirmed the gifts made by his grandfather,[196] whose name is unfortunately not stated. Another inscription of the thirty-fifth year mentions that the mother of Kōpperuñjinga, the son of Aḻagiya Pallavan, set up an image of

[193] 413 of 1909.
[194] 74 of 1918; 463 of 1921.
[195] He is said to be of the *Kāṭṭuk-kuḍi*, Kāḍava line in 381 of 1921, n-d.
[196] 63 of 1919.

the goddess in the temple at Tiruveṇṇainallūr.[197] The name of the lady is given as Śīlavatī in other records.[198] If we assume, what is most likely, that Aḷagiya Pallavan and his son were in the main line of the Kāḍavas, and that it is this line that is represented in the *praśasti* mentioned above, then we may assume further that Aḷagiya Pallava was the son of Vīraśēkhara, and that the grandfather whose gifts he confirmed in A. D. 1211 was no other than Araśanārāyaṇa of the time of Kulōttunga II. The genealogy of the main line of the Kāḍavas thus reached is as follows:



We see thus that this family worked its way up more or less steadily from the days of Vikrama Cōḷa, if not from the latter part of the reign of Kulōttunga I. And the Vṛddhācalam *praśasti* is extremely interesting from this point of view. It says that Vaḷandānār fought against the Singalese and the Gangas, and this may well be true as his age would fall in the later part

[197] 487 of 1921.

[198] 197 of 1905.

[199] 486 of 1921, of the eleventh year of Kōpperuñjinga, from Tiruveṇṇainallūr, records the re-engraving of an older inscription of the 12th year of Tribhuvanacakravartin Rājarājadēva recording a gift by Āṭkolli Kāḍavarāya for the birth of a son.

of Kulōttunga I's reign when there was much fighting in the Ganga country, though there is no definite evidence of a war against Ceylon or even the Pāṇḍya country at the time. The verses on the next two chiefs, Āṭkolli and the 'conqueror of the four quarters', contain no data of historical value. To Araśanārāyaṇan is attributed an expedition against the enemy stronghold *Vādāvi*, *naṭṭār temmalai Vādāvi śenṟeṟindāy*, which is by no means easy to explain. His humbler, and certainly less apocryphal, achievements have been noted under Kulōttunga II. There are three verses, mostly of empty rhetoric, on Vīraśēkhara; the only fact mentioned of him is that he started from the Western side of Gaṇḍarādittan Vāśal on an expedition against Kūḍal of Karkaṭaka-mārāyan and the land of Adiyamān and that he devastated both the territories named. Evidently these are local conflicts among the feudatories of Kulōttunga III. But the capture of Kūḍal appears to have marked a definite stage in the rise of the Kāḍavas who thereafter style themselves: 'born to rule the land of Kūḍal'—*Kūḍal-avani-yāḷap-piṟanda*, Vīraśēkhara himself being the first to do so. Kūḍal or Kūḍalūr cannot be identified with certainty, though we learn from an inscription that it formed part of Perugaḷūr-nāḍu in Tirumunaippāḍi. At this point, we may note the existence of another *praśasti*,[200] which bears no date and relates to the wars and conquests of a certain Toṇḍaimaṇḍalangoṇḍa Pallavāṇḍār *alias* Kāḍavarāyar, the son of Kūḍal-āḷap-piṟandār *alias* Kāḍavarāyar. It appears quite likely

[200] 296 of 1912=178 of 1921.

that this is a *praśasti* of Aḷagiya Pallavan, the father of Kōpperuñjinga; the events mentioned in the *praśasti* admirably fill the gap in the story of the rise of the Kāḍavas between Vīraśēkhara and Kōpperuñjinga. And if our view of this *praśasti* is right, Aḷagiya Śīyan must have also had the name Pallavāṇḍār and must have carried forward the work of aggrandizement begun by Vīraśēkhara and thus paved the way for the greater achievements of his son on a wider stage. The *praśasti* of Pallavāṇḍār states that he gained success in a hard-fought battle at Śēvūr;[201] the enemy against whom he fought is not specified, but the result of the battle seems to have been his mastery over Toṇḍai-nāḍu. This is implied by the titles, 'ruler of the land of the Peṇṇār,' 'ruler of the northern Vēngaḍam hill (Tirupati),' 'the Pallava of Kāñcī,' applied to him later in the same *praśasti*.

We may now consider the other references to the Kāḍavas in the inscriptions of the reign. Vīraśēkhara Kāḍava, also called Araśanārāyaṇan Āḷappiṟandān, presented a necklace (*ēkāvalli-vaḍam*) of precious stones to the deity at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in the thirteenth year of Kulōttunga (A. D. 1191);[202] twelve years later, he bears the title Adigaimān of Kūḍalūr, evidently assumed after his expedition against Kūḍalūr and

[201] *ARE*. 1913, II, 66 says that Kākatīyas were expelled from the south as a result of this battle by Kāḍava II. There is no basis for this statement unless it be one stanza in the *praśasti* which has reference to *vaḍamannar*, northern kings. This verse stands in no relation whatever to the Śēvūr fight, and it gives us the precious historical information that the 'northern kings' who did not come and make obeisance to the Kāḍava, could not find even a hill or a forest to which they could fly for refuge!

[202] 531 of 1902.

Adigaimān mentioned before, and endows a lamp at Tiruveṇṇai-nallūr.[203] Two inscriptions of the third year (A. D. 1181) from the same place mention Kūḍal Mōhan Āḷappiṟandān and Uḍaiyār Kāḍavarāyar,[204] perhaps names of one and the same person; one of his *agambaḍi mudalis* is said to come from Śēndamangalam, the fortress city which held an important place under the Kāḍavas; there is thus clear indication that Kūḍal and Śēndamangalam were already in the possession of the Kāḍavas. Whether Mōhan Āḷappiṟandān or Uḍaiyār Kāḍavarāya is the same as Vīraśēkhara, and whether, if that be so, we must assume that the expedition against Kūḍal and Adigaimān had taken place before A. D. 1181 are questions which cannot yet be answered with certainty. Another detail, equally uncertain, relates to the identity of Kūḍal Ēḷiśaimōgan Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ Vāṇilaikaṇḍān Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan mentioned in two inscriptions from Tiruveṇṇai-nallūr and Vṛddhācalam.[205]

Malaiyamāns.

The princelings of the line of Malaiyamāns apparently adopted in this period the two titles Cēdiyarāya and Kōvalarāya. The former title is evidence of the new tradition that was growing by which these chieftains sought to establish a connection with the Haihayas of Cēdi at a time when all ruling chieftains were busy finding a Puranic pedigree for themselves. One of them is even called

[203] 312 of 1902.
[204] 477, 479 of 1921.
[205] 313 of 1902 (Yr. 17), 133 of 1900 (Yr. 28).

Śiśupālan.[206] The other title indicates that the power of this group of feudatories centred round Kōval, Tirukkōvalūr on the bank of the Peṇṇār in the district of S. Arcot. As the members of this family are mentioned in many inscriptions and mostly in connection with gifts to temples, and as they are often mere names to us, and as the names are often very similar, but yet differ in little ways that render it extremely difficult to decide if we have to deal with one and the same person or different individuals, it is needless to catalogue these names here.[207] A few facts of more general interest may, however, be noted. An inscription from North Arcot states that a certain Nīraṇiñjān Śēdirāyan, acting under orders from a Śāmbuvarāya, gave away a village as *dēvadāna*;[208] this shows either that the Malaiyamāns were in some measure subject to the Śāmbuvarāyas, or at least that some of the former had to seek service under the latter. Some of the names and titles imply close dynastic connections among the different feudatory rulers: such names, for instance, as Vāṇa-kula-rāyan borne by a Kiḷiyūr Malaiyamān;[209] Vāṇa-kōvaraiya Malaiyamān;[210] and, strangest of all Śōḻa-Ganga-Pallavaraiyan, a surname of the Śiśupālan already noticed.[211] There is also a Pon-parappinān among the Malaiyamāns of Kiḷiyūr;[212] the origin of the title is not explained. The mention of a Malaiyan

[206] 73 of 1906 (Yr. 38).
[207] The details can be gathered from the Appendix.
[208] 291 of 1912 (Yr. 20).
[209] 390 of 1902 (Yr. 11).
[210] 534 of 1902 (Yr. 25).
[211] 73 of 1906 (Yr. 38).
[212] 414 of 1909 (Yr. 6).

Narasimha-varman, also called Karikāla Śōḷa Āḍaiyūr Nāḍāḷvān, in inscriptions from Cengama and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai,[213] shows that the Narasimha title, which first occurs in the name of Narasinga-munaiyadaraiyar, a contemporary of Sundaramūrti, and again in that of a contemporary of Rājēndradēva II,[214] still survived in the family of Malaiyamāns in the days of Kulōttunga III.

Adigaimāns.

The ancient line of Adigaimāns of Tagaḍūr rise into prominence again in this reign as the subordinate allies of the Cōḷa monarch. It seems probable that, as has been observed already, the Cōḷa power regained in this period, with their assistance, part of what had been lost in consequence of the wars of Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana. The mention of Ballāḷa II in an inscription of Kulōttunga and the name Cōḷa-mahādēvi of Ballāḷa's queen also imply a more friendly relation between the Cōḷas and Hoysalas, perhaps the result either of a successful campaign or diplomatic mediation undertaken for the Cōḷas by the Adigaimāns. Rājarājadēvan *alias* Adiyamān of Tagaḍūr in Ganga-nāḍu made a gift to the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai of the entire village of Malaiyanūr on the north bank of the Peṇṇār in Tagaḍūr-nāḍu.[215] His title Rājarājan shows that the friendly relations between the chiefs of Tagaḍūr and the Cōḷas had been resumed in the life-time of Rājarāja II, if it had been at all completely broken off before.

[213] 114 of 1900 (Yr. 3); 538 of 1902 (Yr. 27).
[214] *Ante* i, pp. 322—3.
[215] 536 of 1902 (Yr. 10).

Rājarājadēvan's son was the more celebrated Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ (*vyāmuktaśravaṇōjjvala*), who describes himself as of the family of Eḻini, famous in Śangam literature, and has left many interesting inscriptions. The Sāmantan Adiyamān who gave a golden zone to the deity of Tirumāṇikuḻi in the nineteenth year of Kulōttunga III[216] might have been either the father or the son. The inscriptions of the son are found in Salem, North Arcot and South Arcot. Only some of them are dated in the reign of Kulōttunga; but as most of them are in verse, the absence of the suzerain's name need not necessarily mean that the chieftain declared his independence.[217] In an inscription dated in the twenty-second year of Kulōttunga, he calls himself lord of the three rivers Pālār, Peṇṇār, and Kāvēri, and states that he built a stone temple at Śiṟukōṭṭai on the banks of the Peṇṇār and called it after his own name.[218] Another inscription from Tirumalai says that he renovated the images of a Yakṣa and Yakṣī near the Jain settlement on the Tirumalai hill originally set up by the Cēra king Eḻini, one of his ancestors.[219] Yet another inscription from Cengama, North Arcot,[220] engraved at his instance, shows how very influential he was in reality among the feudatories of the Cōḷa in this part of the country. It mentions an earlier compact concluded by him, in the twenty-first year, perhaps of Kulōttunga III, with two chiefs, and renews the terms

[216] 161 of 1902.

[217] Cf. the undated inscriptions of Naralōkavīra—*Studies* vii; *ante* p. 58.

[218] 8 of 1900.

[219] *SII*, i, 75; *EI*. vi, pp. 331—3.

[220] 107 of 1900; *SII*. vii, 119.

of the alliance. The two chiefs are Karikāla-śōḷa Āḍaiyūr-nāḍāḷvān and Śengēṇi Ammaiyappan Attimallan *alias* Vikramaśōḷa-nāḍāḷvān. The terms of the compact include the provision that, so long as this mutual alliance holds, the Adigaimān should contract no alliance with certain other chiefs, Śīyagangan being one of them. These local compacts of a political and diplomatic character with no reference whatever to the suzerain ruler furnish clear proof of the growing disruption of the Cōḷa kingdom. Other evidence of this tendency will be noticed presently. A certain Kulōttungaśōḷa Tagaḍādirāyan *alias* Māraśingadēvan who is mentioned in an inscription[221] from Rāyakōṭa (Salem) may also belong to this period, though we cannot be sure of this.

Other chieftains.

Of the minor chieftains and officers mentioned in the records of the reign, we may note: Śēndamangalam-uḍaiyān Araiyan Edirili-śōḷan who founded in 1188 an *agaram* called Kulōttunga-śōḷan-niyāyaparipālana-catm., and a couple of years later a temple called Vikrama-cōḷīśvaram-uḍaiyār, at Parakēsari-nallūr, a suburb of Cidambaram;[222] Gangaikoṇḍān Rājarājadēva *alias* Koṭṭappiccōḷar who endows a lamp at Vēdāraṇyam in A.D. 1182;[223] Pañcanadivāṇan Nīlagangaraiyan represented by an inscription recording the gift of an entire village,[224] and

[221] 3 of 1900.

[222] 393 of 1907; 309 of 1913. Was Kulōttunga III also called Vikrama Cōḷa?

[223] 415 of 1904 (Yr. 4).

[224] 297 of 1895 (Yr. 5).

by others at Tirukkaccūr and Kaḍappēri recording gifts of lamps;[225] Rājarāja Vangāra Muttaraiyan, a *maṇḍalika* who gives the proceeds of a tax to the temple at Tiṭṭaguḍi in the eleventh year and assists in the inspection of the jewellery in the temple at Tiruvaḍatturai in the next year;[226] Tirukkāḷattidēva Yādavarāya whose gifts along with those of his wife Puḍōlimādēviyār and his son, Śingappiḷḷaiyār *alias* Vīrarākṣasa Yādavarāya are recorded in Kāḷahasti, Kāñcīpuram and Takkōlam between the thirteenth and seventeenth years, and who had many titles, including Gōdavarī-tīra-kanakhāripura-varādhīśvara;[227] a Nuḷamba Duraiyaraśan described as mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vīrarākṣasa Śrī Kāñcīpura-paramēśvara whose single achievement seems to be the gift of a lamp at Rāmagiri (Chingleput);[228] Tirukkoḍungunṟam-uḍaiyān Kēraḷarājan *alias* Vīramaḷagiya Niṣadarājan of Ponnamarāvati, whose wife Pirāṭṭi Āḻvār, daughter of another Niṣadarāyan, built the shrine of goddess Bṛhadāmbā in Tiruvaranguḷam (Pudukkottah);[229] Rācamalla Yādavarāya, a subordinate of Eṟasiddha, who founded a new village Nāgapuḍōl, where his wife Kamalādēvi dug a tank and named it after herself;[230] Vīranarasimha Yādavarāya, with titles including Tirukkāḷattidēva, Śaśikula Caḷukki and *tani-ninṟu-*

[225] 271 of 1909 (Yr. 10); 275 of 1909 (Yr. 13); 131 of 1896 (Yr. 16).

[226] 18 of 1903 (Yr. 11); 210 of 1929 (Yr. 12).

[227] 87 of 1922; 197 of 1892; 38 of 1893; 16 of 1897.

[228] 632 of 1904 (Yr. 15).

[229] 320 of 1914 (Yr. 39); mentioned earlier in 311 of 1928 (Yr. 21); Pd. 161 (Yr. 29).

[230] *NI.* V. 11 (n.d.); 122 of 1922 (Yr. 30).

venṟa, whose gifts are found recorded in Kāḷahasti,[231] Rāmagiri and Tiruppāśur (Chingleput),[232] and whose daughter Śōḷavvaiyār also made a gift at Kāḷahasti;[233] and lastly a *maṇḍalika* by name Pulladēva in the part of Mysore country which still remained in the Cōḷa empire.[234]

Decay of central control.

Attention has been drawn, earlier in this chapter, to the effects, on the central government, of the progressive multiplication of quasi-independent local chieftaincies. The long list of Kulōttunga's feudatories given above, which is by no means exhaustive, shows how rapidly conditions were changing for the worse from the standpoint of the central administration. It was a movement in which cause and effect reacted on each other. The growing weakness of the centre rendered necessary new arrangements of a more or less feudal character for local regulation and defence; these arrangements in their turn stood in the way of the centre regaining its former ascendancy when it attempted to do so. Political compacts among local rulers attest the growth of *imperia in imperio* until the local *imperia* burst the shell of the central *imperium* under whose protection they had at first begun to take shape; and these compacts are now seen to become even more numerous in the reign of Kulōttunga III than under his predecessor. If it is remembered that no Cōḷa inscriptions of

[231] 94 of 1903 (Yr. 7); 120 of 1922 (Yr. 31).
[232] 640 of 1904 (Yr. 32); 406 of 1896 (Yr. 36).
[233] 156 of 1922 (Yr. 10).
[234] 473 of 1911 (Yr. 32).

this period are forthcoming from the Pāṇḍya country and that, apparently, the authority of the Cōḷa ruler was not felt in the day-to-day administration of this area, it will be seen that the sphere of these compacts among local rulers is coterminous with the territory under the direct rule of Kulōttunga. It is needless to detail the compacts or their terms here.[235] It should, however, be noted that for every such recorded agreement to which we have access at present, there must have been many others which were unrecorded or of which the records have either perished or are yet to be recovered. By these local alliances, therefore, the regular functioning of the king's government must have been very seriously hampered. It is true that, as we shall see, under Kulōttunga III and even under his unlucky successors Rājarāja III and Rājēndra III, the forms of administrative procedure present the same appearance as in the best days of the empire under Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I; but the spirit behind these forms could no longer have been the same.

[235] See Appendix for details—in particular 440 of 1913; 223 of 1904; 56 of 1922 (Yr. 13); 483 of 1908 (Yr. 18); 115 of 1900 (Yr. 20); 516 of 1902 (Yr. 27); 435 of 1913 (Yr. 35); 489 of 1912 (Yr. 40).

CHAPTER XVI

RĀJARĀJA III AND RĀJĒNDRA III, THE END 1216—1279.

Accession of Rājarāja III.

The date of Rājarāja's accession falls between June 27 and July 10, A.D. 1216.[1] This date no doubt marks, not his accession to the throne in his absolute right, but his recognition by his predecessor as heir apparent. It must have been some time after this that Sundara Pāṇḍya's invasion of the Cōḷa country and the intercession of Vīra Narasimha to secure a respite for the Cōḷa power occurred. And Kulōttunga III died soon after. The reign of the third Rājarāja began badly, and these initial misfortunes were but the precursors of much greater calamities; again the Hoysalas had to come to the rescue.

What was the relation of Rājarāja to Kulōttunga? Was he the son whom the Cōḷa monarch (Kulōttunga III) on his return from exile, presented to the Pāṇḍyan conqueror who sent for him in order to give him back his kingdom? This may have been so, but we lack definite evidence. Rājarāja's inscriptions call Kulōttunga III *periyadēvar* (the elder lord);[2] so do the inscriptions of Rājarāja's successor Rājēndra III.[3] But this is not enough to sustain the inferences that Rājarāja was a son or nephew of Kulōttunga III or that Rājēndra was his brother.[4]

[1] *EI.* viii, p. 260, Kielhorn.
[2] 409 of 1908.
[3] 216 of 1908.
[4] Contra *ARE.* 1909, II, 51, 52.

Periyadēvar does not seem to signify anything more specific than priority in succession; Rājēndra III describes Rājarāja III also by the same term.[5] There seems to be no reason why we should not suppose that Rājarāja was the son of Kulōttunga, and Rājēndra of Rājarāja; but this cannot yet be proved.

Praśastis.

The most common *praśasti* of the reign is a relatively short description of the glories of Cōḷa rule under Rājarāja III; it begins *śīr manni iru nāngu tiśai,*[6] and does not contain a single historical fact, and it is not worth studying the minor variations in the words of the *praśasti*. Two inscriptions containing this *praśasti* call for some remark. One of them comes from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr[7] and is dated in the third year of a Parakēsari *alias* Tribhuvana Cakravarti Ulaguyya-vanda-perumāḷ. Now the expression Ulaguyya-vanda-perumāḷ, the lord by whose coming the world was saved, is a title rather than a name, and is found in the inscriptions in relation to Kulōttunga III[8] and Rājarāja III.[9] The title Parakēsari in this inscription points to Kulōttunga III; but no other inscription of that king is known to contain the *praśasti* now being considered. On the other hand, the *praśasti* itself and the contents of the record which have reference to the punishment of some persons for treason, a recurring feature of the reign of Rājarāja, point to the successor of Kulōttunga III. This record

[5] 116 of 1911 (n-d).
[6] 51 of 1931, 76 of 1920, 23 of 1891, 93 of 1892, etc.
[7] 125 of 1912.
[8] 120 of 1912 (Yr. 20), also from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr.
[9] 321 of 1911 (Yr. 2).

is, therefore, best assigned to the reign of Rājarāja, the Parakēsari title given in it being held to be mistake for Rājakēsari.[10] The same explanation holds also with regard to the second of the inscriptions mentioned above, a record from Tiruveṟumbūr with the *śīr manni* introduction and Parakēsari title.[11] Such chance mistakes can hardly justify the assumption, sometimes put forward, that, in this period, the Rājakēsari and Parakēsari titles were applied rather indifferently to one and the same king.[10]

Another much longer *praśasti* of a high literary quality, also of little use for purposes of history, begins with the words *śīr mannu malarmagaḷ.*[12] The state of the country, the personal appearance and the character of its ruler, and the subject races paying tribute to him, are all described in this *praśasti;* but the description is so hyperbolic and conventional that we learn from it more of the ways of court-poets than of the subjects they handle. Two queens are mentioned, the senior, a Bāṇa princess who is said to have shared equal authority with the king and to have been consecrated with him,[13] and the junior having the title Buvana-muḻududaiyāḷ.

[10] *ARE.* 1915 II 28.

[11] *ibid*, 142 of 1914.

[12] 504 of 1918 (Yr. 4), 392 of 1918 (Yr. 7+1). The latter is badly conserved and the stones on which it is engraved seem to have been displaced; and it is doubtful if the part containing an account of the conquest of 'the great city of Ceylon' really belongs to this *praśasti*: '*Kaḍalaḍaiyādē koṟṟaveñjilai vaḷaiyādē venṟilangai mānagar koṇḍu*'.

[13] *Ulaguḍaiya perumāḷuḍan okka muḍi kavittāḷ*
Irājarājan piriyā vēḷaikkāri......Irājarājan tiruttāli
peṟṟuḍaiyāḷ......urai śiṟanda taniyāṇai udanāṇai peṟṟuḍaiyāḷ
puvaniyēḻ tanadāṇaiyiṟ-purakkum-andappurap-perumāḷ.......
Vāṇar-kula-nila-viḷakku.

Political changes.

The reign of Rājarāja was a period of continuous trouble. It coincides with an epoch of great changes in the political map of the South, and Rājarāja was obviously no great warrior or statesman. The Cōḷas were exposed to assaults from within and without. The Pāṇḍyas in the South and the Hoysalas in the West had by now risen to the rank of great powers led by rulers of exceptional merit, and as has been pointed out before, the one chance of survival for the Cōḷas was the rivalry between these two new powers neither of which would let the ancient Cōḷa Kingdom fall a prey to the other. In the North-west the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi had given way before the newly risen power of the Sēuṇas. In the North-east, the Telugu Cōḍas of Nellore held an important place and their relations with the Hoysalas on the one side and the Kākatīyas on the other, formed another remarkable chapter of the history of the time. Nearer home, the Kāḍava chieftains of Kūḍalūr and Śēndamangalam were not slow to take advantage of the growing weakness of their suzerain.

For two centuries and a half after the invasion of Kṛṣṇa III, in the middle of the tenth century, the Cōḷa empire had grown in strength and prestige, and the set-back it suffered at the close of the reign of Kulōttunga I had no vital consequences and had left the somewhat diminished empire quite as strong and influential as ever. And it took a leading part in settling the succession dispute in the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. But the disaster that followed not long after, the invasion of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya in the closing years of

the reign of Kulōttunga III, exposed the hollowness of the Cōḷa power in this period. For the first time in many generations, the Cōḷa capitals were sacked by an enemy and the Cōḷa king reduced to the position of a wandering refugee, a fate that the Cōḷas had often inflicted on their enemies. The Cōḷa king indeed regained his position, but after begging for it from his conqueror and on terms that no longer left him an independent ruler. And even this mercy was due to Hoysala aid. This was the signal for the overgrown vassals of the Cōḷa Kingdom to disregard the authority of their suzerain, and at the earliest opportunity that offered itself, either to transfer their allegiance or to declare their independence. This was the state of affairs when Kulōttunga III died, and the reign of Rājarāja III began.

Disturbances in the fifth year.

Inscriptions from the Tanjore District mention that there were great disorders in the fifth year of the reign resulting in loss of security and damage to property.[14] These disorders are only vaguely characterised as *duritangaḷ* (troubles) and *kṣōbham* (agitation), and there is no more indication of their exact nature. It is clear from the inscriptions, however, that they led to the temporary desertion of one temple, its images and movable property being carried elsewhere for safety, and the permanent destruction of the records and title-deeds of two villages which had subsequently to improvise fresh records after inquiry. These disturbances might have been purely local; at any rate there

[14] 141 of 1926 (Yr. 16+1). 213 of 1925 (Yr. 19). 309 of 1927 (n-d).

is no clear evidence of their being due to war or foreign invasion.[15]

Other conflicts.

There were other conflicts going on in what was still nominally Cōḷa territory, conflicts of which we hear only faint echoes in the records of the time. An inscription dated A. D. 1223-4 from the North Arcot District,[16] mentions a fight between Vīranārasingadēva Yādavarāya and the Kāḍavarāya at Uratti, perhaps the Oratti of to-day in the Chingleput District. The fight is mentioned incidentally in commemorating the heroism of a soldier, who fought in the army of the Yādavarāya and lost his life in an attack on the Kāḍavarāya himself. Both these chieftains acknowledged the supremacy of the Cōḷa ruler in this period. We have no information concerning the occasion for the conflict and we cannot say if the Kāḍavarāya was Kōpperuñjinga himself or, what is perhaps more likely, his father.[17] The Kāḍavarāya also came into conflict with the Hoysala about the same time if not earlier. In an inscription which from its cyclic year may be dated about A.D. 1218,[18] Vīra Narasimha styles himself Kāñcī-kāñcana Kāḍavakulāntaka

[15] It is possible that *EC.* vi. Cm. 56 assigned to A.D. 1217 by Venkatasubbaiya (ante p. 148) is really dated, as Hultzsch thinks, in 1222 (*EI.* vii, p. 162), and that Narasimha's march to Śrīrangam had something to do with these disturbances which might have been the result of a Pāṇḍyan invasion. Cf. *ARE.* 1923 II 7. If that was so, it is somewhat strange that we hear nothing more of this invasion from either the Cōḷa or the Pāṇḍyan side.

[16] 271 of 1904.

[17] Possibly the verse on the northern kings in the Atti *praśasti* of the Kāḍavarāya (296 of 1912) has reference to the conflict with the Yādavarāya.

[18] *EC.* ix, Kn. 87.

and Kāḍavarāyadiśāpaṭṭa. If the date of the inscription were not uncertain, we may even suppose that the Kāḍava had taken advantage of the invasion of the Cōḷa country by the Pāṇḍya king or entered into league with him, and that, in order to save the Cōḷa kingdom, the Hoysalas had to deal with the Kāḍava as well as the Pāṇḍya himself.[19] Whatever that may be, there are other inscriptions which bring Narasimha into definite relation with Kāñcī in this period. One of them, A.D. 1230,[20] states that Vīra Narasimha was ruling from Kāñcī, and another inscription, undated, mentions that some of his troops (*bhēruṇḍas*) were stationed at Kāñcī.[21] These references to local disturbances and wars among feudatories and to the supervening of Hoysala influence in different directions give a measure of the disintegration of the Cōḷa Kingdom and the helplessness of its ruler in the midst of growing difficulties. This impression is strengthened by the unusually large number of trials for treason reported in the inscriptions of the reign, which will be considered in some detail at a later stage.

Pāṇḍyan invasion.

Rājarāja was evidently not only weak but foolish. For, if we may trust the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions of the time, he deliberately broke the terms of the treaty with his Pāṇḍyan overlord and thus contrived to bring about the capital disaster of the reign. 'The Cōḷa', says the *praśasti* of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I,

[19] 228 of 1929, (Yr. 10), discussed later in this chapter, p. 190.
[20] *EC.* xii, Tp. 42.
[21] *EC.* v. Cn. 211 b.

'no longer considered it the proper course to own allegiance to the ruler who had bestowed the crown on him on a former occasion. He began once more to feel that his security lay in his own fertile country, and declined to do the usual honour to the commands (of the Pāṇḍya), refused to pay the usual tribute, and (instead) despatched a large army (*pērani*) preceded by an advance guard (*tūśi*).'

The events that followed this attempt to throw off the Pāṇḍyan allegiance are described in the *praśasti* of Sundara Pāṇḍya and in a unique historical inscription from Tiruvēndipuram[22] and in the historical romance, *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* of Kālakaḷabha, composed not many years after the events. The reference to the events of the time by the last author is very brief, but illuminating. Without his assistance, the proper sequence of events must have remained a matter for conjecture, and not the certainty that it now is.

To begin with the Pāṇḍyan side of the story.[23] The expeditionary force sent by the Cōḷa was rolled back and a pitched battle fought in which the Cōḷas suffered heavy loss in men, horse and elephants; the enemy country was irrigated with the blood of fallen foes and sowed with *kavaḍi,* the whole body of women in the enemy's harem including the chief queen of the Cōḷa monarch were taken captive, and made to carry the water-jar and other auspicious objects before the Pāṇḍyan ruler on the occasion of his triumphal entry into the Cōḷa capital, Muḍikoṇḍa-śōḷapuram, where a

[22]142 of 1902, *EI.* vii, pp. 160 ff.

[23]The *praśasti* containing these events has not been traced in any inscription dated before 1236 A.D. *PK.* p. 144 *n.* 3. But the date of 142 of 1902 (A.D. 1231—2) and the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* show clearly that they occurred about 1230—31.

vijayābhiṣēka (the anointment of victors) was performed.[24] The *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* takes up the story at this point and connects it with the events recorded in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription. It says:[25]

"Defeated in battle by the Pāṇḍya ruler, King Rājarāja abandoned his capital and together with his retinue (*saparivāram*) sought to reach the side of his ally, the ruler of Kuntala; while on his way, he was overtaken by the Kāḍava king—who had a vanguard of forest troops and had grown strong by the accession of the troops from foreign lands (*mlēcchadēśa*),—and together with his followers was taken captive after a fight. By this enemy who had descended on him like a bolt from the blue, who, by his many strategems, seemed a partial incarnation of Śambara, who was the very embodiment of guile in the cunning devices he adopted,—by this enemy, the King (Rājarāja) was dragged to his own city Jayantamangala. When he heard this painful news, (Narasimha) started (from his capital) in a few days, reached the northern bank of the Kāvēri and encamped in the neighbourhood of Śrīrangam, and despatched his *daṇḍanātha* to punish all the enemy *sāmantas*, brought about the release of his friend, the Cōḷa king, and levied tribute from the Pāṇḍya....'.

Kōpperuñjinga's part.

The Tiruvēndipuram inscription narrates the campaign of the Hoysala Daṇḍanāthas in considerable detail, and establishes the identity of the Kāḍava chieftain, who attacked and imprisoned Rājarāja and subsequently released him, with the celebrated Kōpperuñjinga (Mahārāja-simha in Sanskrit) who fills a rather large place in the annals of the period. Other inscriptions

[24] A fragmentary inscription dated Ś. 1152, 419 of 1914, from Tiruccuḻi (Rd.) mentions the defeat of Jananātha (who refused to make obeisance) by Sunda........ This may be a reference to this campaign; if so, Jananātha would be Rājarāja III.

[25] Extract by M. R. Kavi in *Tirumalai Śrī Venkaṭēśvara* vi, pp. 677—8.

from the Tamil and Kanarese country confirm these facts.

That Kōpperuñjinga had come of age and was already prominent among the Kāḍava chieftains, and that these chieftains still acknowledged the overlordship of the Cōḷa, at least in name, may be inferred from an inscription[26] found in Vṛddhācalam, dated in the 14th year of Rājarāja (A.D. 1230) and recording an endowment by one of the *agambaḍi mudalis* of Kōpperuñjinga. The Tiruvēndipuram inscription opens with a statement of the facts mentioned in the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta,* adding piquancy to the reports of Kōpperuñjinga's misdeeds that reached Narasimha; for here he is said not only to have imprisoned the Cōḷa emperor (*śōḷa-cakravarti*) at Śēndamangalam, but to have employed his troops to devastate the Cōḷa country and desecrate its temples including Viṣṇu-sthānas—the Hoysalas were staunch Vaiṣṇavas. Narasimha left Dōrasamudra, continues the inscription, saying that he would not allow his trumpet (*kāḷam*) to be blown until after he had re-established his name as the Defender of the Cōḷa monarchy (*Cōḷa-maṇḍalapratiṣṭhācārya*); he uprooted the Magara kingdom,[27] doubtless an ally of the Pāṇḍya and Kāḍava, on his way, and encamped at Pāccūr, two miles to the north of the Coleroon opposite Śrīrangam. From his camp, Narasimha despatched two *daṇḍanāyakas,* Appaṇṇa and Samudra Goppayya, with orders to carry destruction into the country of

[26] 136 of 1900, *EI*. vii, pp. 163—4.

[27] Parts of the Salem and S. Arcot districts, *QJMS*. ii, p. 121, *n*. 2. Narasimha also captured the women and treasures of the Magara king.

Kōpperuñjinga and re-instal the Cōḷa emperor in his place. Accordingly, the two commanders sacked Eḷḷēri and Kalliyūr-mūlai held by Kōpperuñjinga, and Toḷudagaiyūr held by Śōḷa-kōn, evidently one of his lieutenants, killed some of the *mudalis* of the king (Rājarāja) and Parākramabāhu, the king of Ceylon, who had joined the enemy, and, after worshipping the God of Cidambaram, they devastated many places such as Toṇḍamānallūr, Tiruvadi and Tiruvakkarai, to the south of the river Vāraṇavāsi (Gaḍilam) and east of Śēndamangalam, and struck terror into the hearts of the inhabitants by burning crops,[28] capturing women and plundering people; finally they made preparations to invest Śēndamangalam, when Kōpperuñjinga sent word to Narasimha that he was ready to restore the Cōḷa emperor to liberty and his throne, and Narasimha transmitted the offer to his commanders. Then they received the Cōḷa emperor with honour and accompanied him back to his country.

So far the Tiruvēndipuram inscription. The suggestion has been made that the inscription is found engraved in this village, because it was here that the Hoysala generals took leave of the Cōḷa king Rājarāja III, after his restoration.[29] All the villages mentioned in this inscription have been traced in the South Arcot District. It is not clear, however, who the Ceylon ruler Parākramabāhu was. He cannot be identical with Parākramabāhu II of Ceylon who came to the

[28] This, I think is the meaning of: *Kuḍikkālgaḷ(um) śuṭṭum aḻittum*, rather than 'drinking channels'. *Kuḍikkāl* is perhaps a variant of *koḍikkāl*.

[29] *EI.* vii, p. 162.

throne in 1236,[30] for here Parākramabāhu is said to have lost his life in the year 1230. He was perhaps some other prince of the Ceylonese royal family and may be taken to correspond to the *mlēccha* and *vaidēśika* help which Kōpperuñjinga commanded in this fight, according to the author of the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta.*

Other inscriptions confirm these facts and in one important respect supplement the Tiruvēndipuram record. One of them states that Appaṇṇa and Goppayya earned the praises of Narasimha by attacking the Kāḍavarāya and releasing the Cōḷa.[31] Another inscription dated A.D. 1232 states that the country round Nīḍūr in the Tanjore district was formerly ruled by Kōpperuñjinga, and records a revision of the rules of tenancy cultivation rendered necessary thereby.[31a] An undated inscription from Vāyalūr [32] mentions that Kōpperuñjinga *alias* Aḷagiya Śīya defeated the Cōḷa King at Teḷḷāṛu, a fact mentioned nowhere else, and having cast him and his ministers in prison, occupied the Cōḷa country. After the brief prose passage recording these facts, there occur five verses in different metres in praise of Kōpperuñjinga's heroism in which, of course, we hear nothing of the release of the Cōḷa or of the success of the Hoysala generals, but only of the defeat of the Karṇāṭas and the glories of Kōpperuñjinga, also called by the titles Avani-Nārāyaṇa, Nṛpa-

[30] *CV.* ii, p. xiv.

[31] *Kāḍavarāyaṇa kiḍisi Cōlaṇa biḍisi tandu allige mecci*—*EC.* xii, Gb. 95.

[31a] 536 of 1921.

[32] 418 of 1922.

tunga, and ruler of Toṇḍai and Mallai. The same features recur in other inscriptions of his in the Sanskrit language.[33] That Kōpperuñjinga and the Hoysalas continued their fights becomes clear from the fact that Vīra Sōmēśvara is said to have encamped at Mangalam in the course of a campaign against the Kāḍava in the year Durmukha (A. D. 1236).[34]

Defeat of the Pāṇḍya.

While his generals were carrying out his instructions regarding Kōpperuñjinga and the Cōḷa King, Narasimha himself conducted operations against the Pāṇḍya. The *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* asserts that Narasimha levied tribute from the Pāṇḍya ruler, and it seems that the

[33] 419 of 1893; 197 of 1905; 182 of 1919 etc. *ARE.* 1923 II 5—8 discusses the Kōpperuñjinga problem with reference to 418 of 1922, and reaches the conclusions that Aḷagiya Śīyan was different from Mahārājasimha, and that the former defeated and imprisoned Rājarāja III twice, once in 1221-22 after Teḷḷāṟu and about 1231—2 (Tiruvēndipuram record). The reasons for these surprising conclusions are said to be two: that the Vāyalūr record calls the king, Aḷagiya Śīyan and that it does not mention Śēndamangalam. We are also solemnly assured that Mahārājasimha is in his records Kṣīrāpagādakṣiṇa-nāyaka and Peṇṇā-nadīnātha, 'titles not known of Aḷagiya Śīyan Kōpperuñjinga whose conquests extended only up to the Kāvērī in the South' (paragraph 8). In fact, Aḷagiya Śīyan Kōpperuñjinga means Kōpperuñjinga, the son of Aḷagiya Śīyan. The Vāyalūr record opens with the following prose passage: (l. 1) Savasti Śrī Sakalabhuvana-Cakravarti Śrī Kōpperuñjingan Śōḷanait-teḷḷāṟṟil (l 2) venṟu sakala pariccinnamum-goṇḍu Śōḷanaic-ciṟaiyiṭṭu vaittuc-cōṇāḍu koṇḍa A(l. 3)ḷagiya Śīyan. It is seen then, that the name Kōpperuñjinga is given at the very outset, and then the king is also called Aḷagiya Śīyan, 'the beautiful lion'—either the name of the father being applied to the son or the expression being used merely as a title. After the mention of the name Kōpperuñjinga, the omission of Śēndamangalam is immaterial. There is no reason then to postulate a double imprisonment of the Cōḷa king. The Vāyalūr *praśasti* is said to be a composition of Śokka-Śīyan (paragraph 5). In fact, the end reads: *idu śokkac-cīyan āṇai* meaning, 'this is by order of Śokka (Aḷagiya) Śīyan (engraved).'

[34] *EC.* v. Ak. 123. Mangalam is a village in the Vṛddhācalam Taluq about ten miles south-west of Śēndamangalam.

decisive encounter between the Pāṇḍya and Hoysala troops took place at Mahēndramangalam on the Kāvēri river.[35] An inscription at Haranahaḷḷi[36] mentions that Narasimha was encamped at Ravitaḍānakoppa with the object of leading a campaign against the Pāṇḍya king and states that the sea was roaring out its advice to the latter to give up everything to the Hoysala and live in peace as his servant. Other Hoysala inscriptions state that Rāmēśvaram was reached in the course of this campaign or soon after.[37] We hear nothing of all this from the Pāṇḍya inscriptions. In the *praśasti* of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, the account of his second campaign against the Cōḷa stops with the *vijayābhiṣēka,* and this is obviously not the whole truth; for it leaves unexplained the restoration of Rājarāja to the Cōḷa throne after he was forced to relinquish it to the Pāṇḍyan invader. There can be no doubt that for a second time the Hoysala maintained the balance of power among the southern kingdoms by preventing the abolition of the independent Cōḷa monarchy and the annexation of its territory to the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The political settlement reached at the close of these campaigns in aid of the Cōḷa seems to have been sealed by dynastic marriages; Vīra Sōmēśvara, the son of Vīra Narasimha, is called *māmaḍi* by the successors of both Māṟ. Sundara Pāṇḍya I and Rājarāja III.[38]

[35] M. R. Kavi, *ibid.*

[36] *EC.* v. Ak. 123.

[37] *QJMS.* ii, p. 122, *PK.* p. 150.

[38] We do not know the details of these marriage alliances. Sewell's statement (*HISI.* p. 135) that Narasimha II gave his daughter in marriage to the Cōḷa king Rājarāja III seems to be no more than a plausible guess.

State of the Cōḷa Power.

For the rest of his reign, Rājarāja continued to enjoy his position without any serious trouble. The provenance of Rājarāja's inscriptions shows that for the bulk of the period his nominal sway extended over practically the whole of the Cōḷa kingdom as it was at the death of Kulōttunga III. The contents of the inscriptions indicate equally clearly the growing dependence of the Cōḷa power on Hoysala support and the progressive increase of local disorders and treasons and the disregard of the feudatories of the empire for the central power. The forms of central government and local administration appear to have remained the same as before; but the executive strength of the government, never very great in the Hindu state, but realised in a greater measure under the great Cōḷas than under any other dynasty, was now visibly on the wane. In A.D. 1246,[39] Rājēndra was recognised as heir apparent, as is seen from the dates in his inscriptions.

The inscriptions of Rājarāja III dated up to the thirtieth year if not later are found in the modern districts of Salem, Chittoor, Cuddapah and Nellore; we find also the inscriptions of his successor Rājēndra III over practically the same area; these facts imply that the hegemony of the Cōḷa power continued to be recognised over the whole of this area in this period. But this was no more than a traditional form which apparently persisted for some time after its substance had disappeared. For nothing stands out in clearer relief

[39] March 21 to April 20—*EI.* viii, p. 7, Kielhorn.

from the records of the time than the absence of a central co-ordinating authority, and the readiness with which treasons and conspiracies seem to have been set on foot. We have traced the growth of the practice among local chieftains of contracting alliances for offence and defence without any regard to the central government; the habit had spread to the heart of the Cōḷa country by the beginning of Rājarāja's reign and there is an instance[40] of three chiefs in the Tanjore district itself contracting such a mutual alliance in the third year of the reign, A.D. 1219; except for the facts that the inscription recording this event is dated in a regnal year of Rājarāja III, and that the treaty of alliance acknowledged a common fealty due from the allies to the Cōḷa king, which perhaps meant that the alliance would not hold against that ruler, there is no evidence that the government of Rājarāja had anything to do with it. Another instance of a rather protracted feud ending in a matrimonial alliance between the parties is furnished by a record of A.D. 1232 from Tiruveṇṇainallūr;[41] the parties to the dispute and to the alliance that followed it were members of the Kāḍavarāya and Cēdirāya families.

Disorder and weak government.

Instances of treason have reached us not through direct testimony, but by the indirect evidence of inscriptions recording the public sale of land and other property forfeited to the state on account of treasonable offences (*rājadrōham*); it is not possible, therefore, to discover the exact nature of the offences which led to the punish-

[40] 23 of 1897.
[41] 480, 481 of 1921.

ment or any details regarding them. Though such cases were not unknown under other Cōḷa rulers, the number of reported instances is unusually large during Rājarāja's reign, and it appears legitimate to suppose that this is partly due to the unsettled condition of the land and the loss of strength and efficiency in the central government. There was a public auction (*Rājarājapperuvilai*) in Shiyali (Tanjore Dt.) on the 317th day of the eighth regnal year of the king,[42] at which the king's officers specially chosen for the purpose disposed of lands belonging to some traitors and such among their relations, employees and slaves as had been involved in the treason (*drōhattukku uṭpaṭṭārum*). An inscription from Valivalam (Tanjore District)[43] records that in A.D. 1230, a commission of eight royal officers realised 33,000 *kāśus* as proceeds of a similar sale of lands forfeited by persons who had turned against the king—*drohigaḷāyp-palaraiyum kāṇi māṟina nilam.* Again at Kōyil Tirumāḷam,[44] an order of confiscation issued on the 348th day of the 20th year, was given effect to on the 80th day of the succeeding year, at an interval of about three months, and five *vēli* and four *mā* of land yielded to the royal treasury a sum of 13,000 *kāśus.* More details are forthcoming in regard to the next instance from Śivapuram (Tanjore Dt.) and of the twenty-third regnal year;[45] these details show that the charge of *rājadrōham* should not be understood in the sense that suggests itself at first sight, that of treason in a political

[42] 393 of 1918.
[43] 112 of 1911.
[44] 244 of 1917.
[45] 279 of 1927; *ARE.* 1927 II 30.

sense, but in that of turbulence or persistent insubordination. In this particular case, two *śiva-brahmaṇas* (temple priests) were punished by the *māhēśvaras* (the congregation) and the *ūr* for *rāja-drōham* and *śiva-drōham.* The inscription says that the accused handed over to a concubine the jewels belonging to the goddess, misappropriated temple funds entrusted to them, refused to pay the dues on lands held by them, and misbehaved in other ways; they not only ignored commands issued to them by the king, but maltreated the messengers of the king by beating them and ducking them. They are also said to have committed indescribable sins through the *Kannaḍiyas* and to have collected 50,000 (coins?), perhaps a case of irresponsible local oppression. The mention of the *Kannaḍiyas* must be particularly noted; for it points to an incidental result of Hoysala intervention in the Cōḷa kingdom and indicates the presence of bands of mercenaries who had no sympathy with the local population and were ready to carry out the biddings of any ruffian who commanded the means to pay them. There is yet another instance also from the Tanjore district (Tiruveṇkāḍu)[46] of forfeiture of property for treason which is seen, from the name of the *tirumandira-ōlai,* to be clearly of the reign of Rājarāja III. It is remarkable that all these instances come from the central regions of the Cōḷa kingdom, clear proof that the administration was floundering even in the limited area to which it had become con-

[46]506 of 1918 (Yr. 18).

fined by the increasing independence of the greater vassals in the outlying parts of the kingdom.

Hoysalas.

The intervention of the Hoysala power secured for the Cōḷa kingdom a somewhat longer lease of life than the Pāṇḍyas would have allowed it; but this respite was not obtained without some cost, and it is worth while tracing the part of the Hoysala princes and generals in the affairs of the Cōḷa country as revealed by the Cōḷa inscriptions themselves. An inscription from Tiruvaḍatturai (in the Vṛddhācalam Taluq of the South Arcot district) dated in the tenth year,[47] A.D. 1226, states that the Hoysala king Narasimhadēva had destroyed the country and carried away images from the temple of that village some time before, and records the reconsecration of the temple. The date of this record seems to rule out the possibility of connecting these transactions with the campaign of Appaṇṇa and Samudra Goppayya, recorded in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription.[48] It has been pointed out before that Narasimha might have taken the side of the Cōḷa earlier on the occasion of the first Pāṇḍyan invasion and proceeded against the Kāḍava ally of the Pāṇḍyan invader.[49] Possibly, Tiruvaḍatturai was then in the occupation of the Kāḍava and suffered damage as part of the enemy country. The Kāḍava was forced once more to acknowledge the Cōḷa overlordship, and when peace was restored, the people became free to repair the damages inflicted by war.

[47] 228 of 1929. The name of Rājarāja does not appear in the record; but it is surely of his reign. *ARE*. 1929 II 48.

[48] *Contra ARE. ibid.*

[49] *Ante* p. 178.

The presence of Hoysala troops (*bhēruṇḍas*) at Kāñcī about this time is attested by the gift of a lamp to Attiyūr Āḻvār by Bācaladēvi, the daughter of Bhūtadēya-nāyaka of Dōrasamudra,[50] of another lamp three years later by the *mahāpradhāni* Ammaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka,[51] and of a whole village by Gopayya Daṇḍanāyaka in A.D. 1231.[52] Some time later a *pradhāni* of Sōmēśvara, the son and successor of Narasimha, also makes a gift at Kāñcīpuram.[53]

Hoysala influence in other parts of the kingdom is attested by record of gifts by Vallaya Daṇḍanāyaka, a *pradhāni* of Narasimha, at Tirumalavāḍi[54] by a member of the subordinate establishment (*śiṟupiḷḷaigaḷ*) of Narasimha's queen Sōmaladēvi at Tirugōkarṇam;[55] Vallaya is also seen making another gift at Kāñcīpuram in A.D. 1238, when he is called a *pradhāni* of Sōmēśvara.[56]

In fact, after they began sometime about 1218 to take the side of the Cōḻas against the Pāṇḍyas in the struggle between these two powers, the Hoysalas appear steadily to have improved their position and influence in the Cōḻa and the Pāṇḍya kingdoms. They evidently aspired to a sort of hegemony over the whole of South India and to some extent succeeded in

[50] 349 of 1919 (Yr. 11).
[51] 408 of 1919 (Yr. 14).
[52] 404 of 1919 (Yr. 15).
[53] 369 of 1919 (Yr. 20). Other gifts by Hoysala generals: 611, 612, 615 of 1919 (Yr. 24); 138 of 1905 (Karuvūr, Yr. 24).
[54] 39 of 1920 (Yr. 20).
[55] Pd. 183 (Yr. 20).
[56] 366 of 1919.

realising their ambition for a time, during the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Depending for their very existence on the backing of the Hoysalas, the Cōḷas were in no position to offer any resistance to their aggrandizement; even the Pāṇḍyas found themselves compelled to purchase peace with the Hoysalas by a tacit recognition of their dominant position. Attention may be drawn here to the frequent mention of Hoysala Kings and generals in the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions of the period,[57] and in particular, to two records from Pudukkottah,[58] dated about A. D. 1245, which mention the capture of Kāna-nāḍu by Ravi-dēva, a general of the Hoysala Vīra-Sōmēśvara. It was not till the rise of the greatest Pāṇḍya ruler of the time, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, i.e., till after the middle of the century, that the expansion of the Hoysala power received a check.

Feudatories of Rājarāja III.

For all its weakness, the Cōḷa power maintained the appearance of sovereign rule over a considerable territory almost till towards the end of Rājarāja's long reign. This becomes clear from a review of the inscriptions dated in his regnal years and issued by rulers who still called themselves vassals of the Cōḷa emperor. Even the notorious Kōpperuñjinga was no exception. We have seen that the attempt of this chieftain to throw off his allegiance to his Cōḷa overlord was suppressed in 1230-31 by the intercession of Vīra-Narasimha. The inscriptions of Kōpperuñjinga, however, show that he had a rather long and stormy career, and that in the political

[57] *PK*. pp. 158—9.
[58] Pd. 340, 341.

confusion that prevailed in the period, he found it easy to set himself up as a more or less independent ruler and pursue a policy of his own towards the neighbouring states. He counts his regnal years from A.D. 1243 and inscriptions citing these years run in a series up to the thirty-sixth year, c. A. D. 1279, i.e., almost to the end of the period covered by this chapter. It is needless to follow here the details of his career. His conflicts with the Hoysalas and the Kākatīyas whose supremacy he had to acknowledge in the north,[59] the attack on his capital Śēndamangalam delivered by Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, and the numberless gifts made and constructions undertaken by Kōpperuñjinga at various places in the whole area extending from Tanjore as far as Drākṣārāma and Tripurāntakam—these do not properly belong to Cōḷa history. It should, however, be noted that as late as A.D. 1246 and 1247 we find the officials and relatives of Kōpperuñjinga, if not the chieftain himself, acknowledging the overlordship of Rājarāja III.[60] Among the other feudatories, the Telugu-Cōḍas, of whom something has been said already, may be noted first. Manumasiddharasa who had the title Cāḷukya-nārāyaṇa and made a gift to the great Śiva temple at Kāñcīpuram in A.D. 1218;[61] Madhurāntaka Pottappiccōḷa Eṟasiddharasa, gifts from whose officials and relatives are recorded in Rājarāja's inscriptions from Kāñcīpuram and Nellore

[59] 419-c of 1893. Ambadēva, the feudatory of the Kākatīyas, is called *Kāḍavarāya-vimardaka*. 173, 268 of 1905.

[60] 504 of 1902; 488-a. of 1902.

[61] 8 of 1893.

between his fifth and eleventh regnal years;[62] Malamādēvarasa and Puḍōliyarasa mentioned in records of the sixth and eighth years of Rājarāja from the Chittoor district;[63] and the great Tikka I himself who figures under the name Gaṇḍagōpāla along with his queen and his officials in a large number of Rājarāja's inscriptions,[64] are the chief among the Telugu-Cōḍas who flourished in this reign. Likewise we find a number of Yādavarāyas, Śāmbuvarāyas and Cēdiyarāyas also among the feudatories, particularly in the earlier years of the reign; it is not necessary to repeat the names of these chieftains which may be gathered by a perusal of the inscriptions of the reign brought together elsewhere in this volume; but the fact that so many of these well-known local dynasties continued to acknowledge the Cōḷa overlordship till so late in the reign of Rājarāja is of some significance in the history of the decline and fall of the Cōḷa empire. Some of the names show that chieftains of Bāṇa, Vaidumba, Nuḷamba and Ganga extraction were also counted among these feudatories. We have already mentioned Hoysala generals citing the regnal years of Rājarāja while recording their gifts in Kāñcipuram, Karuvūr[65] and other places. Even a Kalinga ruler Aṇiyanga Bhīmadēva Rāhuta adopts this course in making an endowment in Kāñcīpuram in the twentieth year of Rājarāja, A.D. 1236.[66] These facts

[62] 363 of 1919; *NI.* R. 38, G. 58.
[63] 104 of 1922; 88 of 1889.
[64] Appendix: Rājarāja III.
[65] 138 of 1905 (Yr. 24).
[66] 445 of 1919.

show that the hold of the Cōḷa empire on the imagination of the people was still great, even after the disasters brought on it by the incompetence and cowardice of Rājarāja III. ✓

The position of Rājēndra.

Rājēndra, who, as we have seen, was recognised as heir apparent in A.D. 1246, was an abler prince than Rājarāja III. His inscriptions contain a Sanskrit *praśasti* which records his efforts to restore to the Cōḷas at least a part of their ancient power and prestige which they had lost so completely owing to the utter incapacity of Rājarāja. For over ten years after his right to the succession was recognised, Rājarāja continued to rule in name, but there can be little doubt that during all this period, and perhaps even for some years before, the substance of power lay in the hands of his abler colleague. The inscriptions of Rājarāja diminish in their number and range in the closing years of his reign, particularly from the thirty-fourth regnal year, when they are confined practically to the two modern districts of North Arcot and Nellore. In the same period, the inscriptions of Rājēndra, on the other hand, are relatively more numerous and come from practically all parts of the Cōḷa kingdom. This can hardly be an accident, and must be ascribed to some definite understanding by which the baneful effects of Rājarāja's political incompetence were circumscribed. There is no evidence that Rājarāja and Rājēndra were ever engaged in a civil war, as has sometimes been thought, or that there

was a formal division of the kingdom, or, finally, that Rājarāja was murdered by Rājēndra.[67]

The success of Rājēndra.

It may be doubted if the *praśasti* of Rājēndra mentions the historical facts recorded in it in the order of their occurrence, and considering the fact that the *praśasti* can be traced to the seventh year of Rājēndra,[67a] A.D. 1253, when Rājarāja was still alive, we may conclude that in a few years after he became heir-apparent,

[67]The relations between Rājarāja III and Rājēndra III have been much misunderstood. We have one more instance here of a tentative suggestion put forward by a pioneer scholar being regarded as an established fact and made the basis of further reconstructions. Dealing with 64 and 65 of 1892, two inscriptions of Rājendra of the seventh and eighth regnal years, Venkayya observed in 1900: "That there was at least one other Cōḷa contemporary of Vīra Sōmēśvara is shown by two inscriptions in the Ranganātha temple Śrīrangam (64 and 65 of 1892) dated during the reign of the Cōḷa King Tribhuvana-Cakravarti Rājendra Cōḷa-deva. If this Cōḷa King was reigning during the time of Rājarāja III and independently of him, it may show that the decline of the Cōḷas about his time was due, partly at least, to internal dissensions." (*ARE.* 1900, paragraph 30). He also said in another connection in the same report: "As both Cōḷa-Tikka and Vīra-Sōmēśvara claim to have established the Cōḷa King on his throne, and as they were fighting with one another, it may be assumed that they took up the cause of two opposing claimants to the Cōḷa Kingdom," (*Ibid*, paragraph, 48). It does not need much reflection to see that either of these statements constitutes only one of several possible explanations of the fact cited in each case. Yet, all subsequent writers have just accepted these suggestions of Venkayya as settled facts, and have been rather obsessed by them. For, otherwise, there would not have been the attempt, noticed above, to maintain, on such slender evidence, that Rājarāja III and Rājēndra III were brothers; and Krishna Sastri would have been less ready to give the start to the theory of Rājēndra killing Rājarāja after securing for him two crowns for three years, *ARE.* 1912 II 32. The word *dhūrta* in Rājēndra's *praśasti* on which Krishna Sastri relies for this theory, has a variant reading *dṛpta*, and the compound in which it occurs must be referred to the word Pāṇḍya that follows, as was correctly done by Gopinatha Rao in his Tamil history of the Cōḷas, p. 114. It is obviously a reference to the tradition of the Pāṇḍya's expedition against Indra. All the statements controverted here have been summarily accepted by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 35—41.

[67a]64 of 1892. Let us note also the words: *manukulameḍuttu neṟimuḍi śūḍiyaruḷiya* in 185 of 1908 (Yr. 4). In *SII.* vii. Appendix A, three records with a short *praśasti* beginning *pūmiyum tiruvum* are ascribed to Rājēndra III; they belong in fact to the early years of Kulōttunga I, and in two of them Parakēsari should be treated as a mistake for Rājakēsari.

Rājēndra had gone some way to realise his ambitious programme of recovery. The evidence of Hoysala inscriptions renders it even probable that he entered on this task earlier than 1246. The *praśasti* says that Rājēndra avenged the humiliation put upon the Cōḷa power and that by his prowess he enabled Rājarāja to wear two crowns for three years.[68] In some redactions, the *praśasti* also states that Rājēndra was expert in cutting off the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,[69] while an inscription from Tripurāntakam,[70] dated in the fifteenth year, contains the more sober claim : *iruvar pāṇḍyar muḍittalai-koṇḍaruḷina.* Rājēndra is also said to have plundered the Pāṇḍya country. It is clear that Rājēndra gained some success against the Pāṇḍyas and that the second crown he claims to have bestowed on the Cōḷa ruler was the Pāṇḍyan crown.[71] The Pāṇḍyas had carried fire and sword into the Cōḷa country twice in twenty years and had been the cause of the rebellion of Kōpperuñjinga and his imprisonment of Rājarāja. Rājēndra's anxiety to strike the first blow at them was

[68] *Cōḷa-kula-paribhava-nirākaraṇa vikrama-tri-varṣa-dhārita makuṭa-dvaya-Rājarāja.*

[69] *Pāṇḍya-maṇi-makuṭa-śiraḥ-khaṇḍana-paṇḍita*—420 of 1911 ; 515 of 1922.

[70] 201 of 1905; for the meaning of *talai-koṇḍa* see above Vol. i, pp. 169-170. Cf. also *Pāṇḍya-maṇi-makuṭa-pīṭha-pratiṣṭhita-pādāravinda* of 93 of 1897 and 515 of 1922.

[71] Krishna Sastri says: 'the two crowns—perhaps those of the Pāṇḍya and the Kēraḷa', *ARE.* 1912, II, 32. There is no mention of the Kēraḷa except in the rhetorical claim that the Kēraḷa and the Pāṇḍya held his fly-whisks: *svar-vēśyā-sandhāna-dṛpta (dhūrta)-Pāṇḍya-Kērala-vījyamāna-cāmara-yugaḷa.* Moreover, if both the Pāṇḍyan and Kēraḷa crowns were bestowed on Rājarāja, these with his own Cōḷa crown, would make three, not two as stated in the *praśasti.*

therefore quite natural. But when did he get his chance, and why did the effect of his success not last for more than three years? And who were the two Pāṇḍyan kings who had to own defeat at his hands? Now it seems hardly likely that Rājēndra achieved anything against the powerful Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. But after his death, until the accession of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I in A.D. 1251, the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was held by weak rulers, and it is quite possible that Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (acc. 1238) was the king who was compelled for a time to acknowledge the Cōḷa overlordship. The identity of the other Pāṇḍya, perhaps co-ruler with Māṟavarman Sundara II, remains obscure. We are perfectly justified in assigning these events to the reign of Māṟavarman Sundara II, because he is known to have been a weak ruler, and in his reign, as in the earlier part of the reign of Rājarāja III Cōḷa, the influence of the Hoysalas on the affairs of the kingdom is visibly on the increase.[72] This may be due to the same cause, the Hoysala protection afforded to its ruler against the aggressions of a more active and powerful neighbour. Vīra Sōmēśvara is called, in some Mysore records, Pāṇḍya - kula - saṃrakṣaṇa - dakṣa - dakṣiṇa-bhuja,[73] (the king) whose right arm is expert in protecting the dynasty of the Pāṇḍyas. About the same time, Sōmēśvara is said to have defeated Rājēndra on the field of battle and to have protected him when he sought refuge.[74] It is probably these facts that account

[72] *PK.* p. 158.

[73] *EC.* v, p. xxv.

[74] *EC.* v. *AK.* 123.

also for some expressions found in Rājēndra's inscriptions.[75]

An inscription from Vēdāraṇyam[76] states that in the twenty-fifth year of Rājarāja III, A.D. 1241, Singaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka invaded that part of the Cōḷa country, that the inroad led to the cessation of worship in a temple, and that some time later, the temple had to be reconsecrated at a cost of 50,000 *kāśus*. A duplicate inscription from Pudukkottah,[77] dated in A.D. 1245, mentions the capture some years before of Kāna-nāḍu on behalf of Vīra Sōmēśvara by his *daṇḍa-nāyaka* Ravi-dēva. We have thus sufficient evidence to show that after Rājēndra came on the field, there was a change in the part played by the Hoysalas. When the Cōḷas showed signs of recovery under the energetic leadership of Rājēndra and the Pāṇḍyas were, in their turn, somewhat weakening, the Hoysalas lent their support without any hesitation to the Pāṇḍyas, as against the Cōḷas. The trend of Hoysala diplomacy

[75] A Śrīrangam inscription of the eighth year, A.D. 1254, begins with the expression : *Māma-Sōmēśvara-pratikūla-kāla-daṇḍa;* this may mean either 'the rod of death against uncle Sōmēśvara' or 'the rod of death to the enemies of uncle Sōmēśvara'. The same ambiguity attaches, though perhaps in a less measure, to the similar expression in the Sanskrit *praśasti*: *Karuṇāṭa-rāja pratikūla-kāla-daṇḍa.* Fortunately for us, another phrase in the Sanskrit *praśasti* settles the meaning in the sense that Rājēndra was hostile to Sōmēśvara himself. That expression is : "*giri-durga malla-Vīra-Sōmēśvara-kar-āmukta-pāda-vīrābharaṇa,* meaning : 'on whose leg Vīra-Sōmēśvara, the (wrestler against) capturer of hill-forts, put on the anklet of heroes.' It should be noted that the date of these transactions can only be roughly indicated to lie between A.D. 1238, the accession of Māṛavarman Sundara II and 1253, the earliest known date of the *praśasti* of Rājēndra. AK. 123 contains two dates in A.D. 1234 and 1236, but may have been engraved several years later; the dates refer to events narrated in the course of the record.

[76] 501 of 1904 (Yr. 30).

[77] Pd. 340, 341—same as 387 of 1906; *ARE.* 1907 II 26.

is plain. It was to keep the balance even between the Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa powers, to encourage both to look to the Hoysalas for assistance in times of need and thus to secure for themselves a dominant place in the state-system of the south. Evidently, Rājēndra was compelled to give up all claims to supremacy over the Pāṇḍyas after a period of three years, marked by some hard fighting in different areas. We have as yet no clear knowledge of the details.[78]

Cōḍa Tikka.

The growth of differences between Sōmēśvara and the Cōḷas on their Pāṇḍyan policy forced the latter to seek other allies for themselves. The Telugu-Cōḍas of Nellore had attained considerable power and were ruling over an extensive territory in the Nellore, Chingleput and Cuddapah districts. We have seen that these rulers were on the whole more friendly with the Cōḷa monarchs of the south and ready to acknowledge their formal suzerain position. Tikkanṛpati *alias* Gaṇḍagōpāla[79] was the contemporary ruler of Nellore and there is clear literary evidence of his friendship with the Cōḷas and his hostility to the Hoysalas. In the introductory verses to his *Nirvacanōttara Rāmāyaṇamu*, Tikkana has given a fairly complete and sober account of the achievements of Tikka, the father of his patron Manmasiddha. From this account we learn that Tikka fought against Śamburāja and other enemy *maṇḍalikas* and that he compelled Kāñcī, Cēdimaṇḍala

[78] It may be noted that Kōpperuñjinga also calls himself *Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala-sthāpana-sūtradhāra*, and it is possible that he helped the Pāṇḍyan rulers also.

[79] 446 of 1919; *ARE*. 1920 II 55.

and the Kāḍavapati to acknowledge his supremacy. The importance of these successes was that they checked the predatory activities of the turbulent Kōpperuñjinga and his confederates and thereby strengthened the position of the Cōḷa monarch. The presence of Gaṇḍagōpāla's inscriptions dated about A.D. 1230 and later[80] in Kāñcīpuram and its neighbourhood, and the fact that many of them are dated in the regnal years of Rājarāja corroborate the statements of Tikkana Sōmayāji on the relations between Tikka and the Cōḷas. The same poet also states expressly that Tikka subdued the Karṇāṭa ruler Sōmēśvara and thereby easily established the Cōḷa in his position and earned for himself the title Cōḷasthāpanācārya. This is again confirmed by a Hoysala inscription of Ś. 1162 (A.D. 1240)[81] which mentions an expedition of Sōmēśvara against the Gaṇḍagōpāla. Once more the date of the Hoysala record indicates that Rājēndra's activities for the restoration of Cōḷa power were begun some years prior to his formal installation as heir-apparent. We thus see that the accession of a weak Pāṇḍyan ruler, the commencement of Rājēndra's campaign of recovery, the estrangement between the Cōḷas and the Hoysalas, and the alliance of the Cōḷas with the Telugu Cōḍas all hang together and constitute a sort of a diplomatic revolution in the political condition of South India. In fact it was an age of rapid changes in the political map of South India. The particular phase that was

[80] 357 of 1919; 446 of 1919 and others.

[81] *EC*. vi, Kd. 100. *Vīra Sōmēśvara Dēvanu Gaṇḍa Gōpāḷana mēlē etti naḍedu.*

created by the advent of Rājēndra and has just been described furnishes, it may be noted in passing, a very good example in practice of the diplomatic theory of the *maṇḍala* developed in the scholastic treatises on Hindu polity. The Cōḷa kingdom is surrounded by enemies on all sides, and its only ally is a ruler whose territory lies beyond that of a neighbouring enemy.[82]

Uttara Lankā.

Another of Rājēndra's successes is described in his *praśasti* in the phrase: 'the very Rāma to the prosperous Northern Lankā celebrated for its Vīra-rākṣasa(s)'. This is clearly a reference to a campaign against the Śāmbuvarāyas, some of whom called themselves Vīra-rākṣasa and who held sway in the region of North Arcot.[83] Tikkana Sōmayāji states that Tikkanṛpati undertook expeditions against Śamburāja and other hostile *maṇḍalikas* before he established himself at Kāñcīpuram, and it is

[82] It may be doubted if the title Cōḷa-sthāpanācārya which is applied to Vīra Sōmēśvara has any real historical significance and if it is not simply a repetition of a title actually earned by his father. On the other hand, Tikkana's words are very clear about Tikkanṛpati and deserve to be cited:

Śambu-rājādi-praśastāri-maṇḍalikamujerci-yēlaḍē kāñcipuramu|
Cēdi-maṇḍalamu gāsigajēsi Kāḍavapati-nīyyakolupaḍē palacamunaku||
* * *

Kamalāpta-pratimāna-mūrti-yagunā-Karṇāṭa Sōmēśu du-
rdama-dōrgarvamu rūpu māpi nijadarpambum pratiṣṭhiñci ll-
lameyiñ-jōḷuni bhūmipai nilipi Cōḷasthāpanācārya-nā-
mamu dakkangoni Tikkabhūvibhuḍu sāmarthyambu cellimpaḍē||

Kētana, in his *Daśakumāracaritra* adds that Tikka levied tribute from the Pāṇḍya (1:16). Can it be that his troops assisted Rājēndra in his Pāṇḍyan war?

[83] 58 of 1908 (Kulo. III, Yr. 17). The Northern Lankā has no reference to the Lankās of the Gōdāvari delta (*ARE*. 1912 II 32; 1913 II 43), but to Māvilangai, *Pattuppāṭṭu*[3] p. 139, *Puṛanānūṛu*[3] Intr. p. 61,

quite possible that in the wars he co-operated with Rājēndra in the restoration of Cōḷa power.

It is thus seen that the attempts of Rājēndra met with a considerable measure of success and that for some years, between 1238 and 1250, the Cōḷa power once more held its own against its enemies and 'feudatories', thanks to the loyalty and co-operation of the Telugu Cōḍas of Nellore. The attempt to put down the rising power of the Pāṇḍyas necessarily failed; this would have been the case even if Sōmēśvara had not gone to the aid of the Pāṇḍyas; for the latter had always been too strong for the Cōḷas even when the Cōḷa empire was in the prime of its strength; and from the time of Vikrama Cōḷa, their hold on the Pāṇḍya territory had been little more than nominal; and now the Pāṇḍyas had the added prestige born of their recent successes against their quondam suzerains. For the rest of it, however, Rājēndra's achievement is sufficient justification for his being described in his *praśasti* as the 'restorer of the race of Manu' and the 'ruler who avenged the humiliation of the Cōḷas.'

Loss of Kāñci.

Kāñcīpuram does not figure among the conquests of Rājēndra and it is worth while to notice briefly the fortunes of the city in this period. The latest Cōḷa records traceable here appear to be dated about A.D. 1245,[83a] in the twenty-ninth year of Rājarāja III, and not a single record of Rājēndra III is to be found in Kāñcīpuram. On the other hand we find an inscription of Kākatīya Gaṇapati dated Tuesday, June 8,

[83a] 352 and 566 of 1919.

1249 A.D. recording a large grant by one of his ministers Sāmanta Bhōja.[83b] There is an inscription from Nandalūr which, in spite of many gaps, clearly shows that Tikka's son, Manumasiddhi, and Gaṇapati were friends.[83c] There is again a tradition that the great Telugu poet Tikkana secured the intercession of Gaṇapati in the affairs of the Telugu-Cōḍa kingdom on behalf of Manumasiddha when he was sought to be kept out of the succession.[83d] We have not as yet any decisive evidence of the date of Gaṇapati's interference, if he actually did interfere in the manner just mentioned. We may also note that some years later, when Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya killed Gaṇḍagōpāla, i.e. Tikka, in battle and conquered the Telugu-Cōḍa kingdom, he became master of Kāñcīpuram and Nellore,[83e] and put Gaṇapati to flight. We may therefore suppose that Kāñcīpuram had for some years become part of the Telugu-Cōḍa kingdom under Tikka, that he held it in nominal subjection to Rājarāja III in the beginning, and to Gaṇapati later on, until the

[83b] *IA.* xxi, pp. 197 ff. Another inscription, 2 of 1893, seems to be the Tamil version of the same transaction and bears a date exactly one week earlier, the astronomical details corresponding to Tuesday, June 1, 1249 A.D.

[83c] 580 of 1907. yaḥ sāhāyyam vidhitsuḥ Gaṇapatinṛpates svecchayā saṃgarāgre Godāvaryām sariti nṛpatiś-carmayaṣṭyā nivṛtya | Kālingam svān Kalingānabhimukham-akarodekavīras-tadānīm || *ARE.* 1908 II 75. I am unable to trace the authority for Krishna Sastri's statement: 'The Kākatīya king Gaṇapati of Warangal made a dash, just at this period, into the South; took Kāñcī and was encamped on the island of Śrīrangam'. *ASI.* 1909-10, p. 155.

[83d] *Siddēśvaracaritra*, cited by Virēśalingam, *Lives of Telugu Poets* (rev. ed.) Pt. i, pp. 89-92.

[83e] The order of expressions in his Sanskrit praśasti seems to be significant: Vīragaṇḍagōpāla vipina-dāva-dahana, Kāñcīpuravarādhīśvara, Gaṇapati-hariṇaśārdūla, Nellūrapura-vīracita-vīrābhiṣeka. *SII.* iv. 438. I am unable to share the doubts of Sewell about this expedition *HISI.* p. 155.

city was captured by the Pāṇḍyan invader. The Cōḷas then did not long keep their hold on Kāñcī for which Kulōttunga III had fought successfully in the latter part of his reign. With the rise of Kōpperuñjinga into independence, the Cōḷa king must have found it difficult to maintain his power in Kāñci and acquiesced in the virtual annexation of the city to the Telugu-Cōḍa kingdom.

Rājēndra and the Hoysalas.

Their differences over the Pāṇḍyan policy resulted, as we have seen, in hostilities between the Cōḷas and the Hoysalas in which the former were aided by the Telugu-Cōḍa Tikka I; this seems to have been, however, only a passing phase; the inscriptions of Sōmēśvara imply the resumption of friendly relations between him and Rājēndra, after a temporary estrangement, and this is confirmed by the inscriptions of Rājēndra in which Hoysala officers figure as donors as in those of Rājarāja III.[84] This friendship between the Cōḷas and the Hoysalas was continued up to and even beyond the death of Sōmēśvara. Two inscriptions from Tiruccatturai[85] in the Tanjore District are of great significance in this regard; one of them is dated in the tenth year of Vīra Rāmanātha, the successor of Sōmēśvara in the southern half of the Hoysala kingdom, and records a sale

[84] 49 of 1913, 387 of 1903, 498 of 1902, 349 of 1919. The suggestion has been made (*ARE.* 1913 II 43) that the part taken by the officers of Sōmēśvara in a local enquiry into temple affairs at Śivāyam (49 of 1913) constitutes proof that Sōmēśvara acknowledged the sovereign power of Rājēndra. But this is very doubtful, especially if we recall the number of inscriptions of Rājarāja III in which the Hoysala officials appear. It is reasonable to infer the existence of friendly relations between the two powers.

[85] 207 and 208 of 1931.

of land effected in the twentieth year of Rājēndra (A.D. 1265–6), while the other couples the fifteenth year of Rāmanātha with the twenty-fifth of Rājēndra. These records attest the closest possible alliance between the two rulers, if not actually their joint rule over the territory where the inscriptions are found.[86]

Pāṇḍyan Expansion.

The reason for this close alliance between the Cōḷa and Hoysala is doubtless to be found in the new danger from the South that threatened both. The accession of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, 1251 A.D., to the Pāṇḍyan throne brought on the stage one of the most famous warriors and conquerors of Southern India. Under him the second empire of the Pāṇḍyas attained its greatest splendour, and all the other powers of South India, up to the river Kṛṣṇā and even beyond, felt the weight of his arm, the Hoysalas and the Cōḷas being the first to do so.[87] The Pāṇḍyan ruler had achieved signal success against the Cōḷa and the Hoysala before the seventh year of his reign, A.D. 1258; he had laid the Cōḷa under tribute and compelled the Hoysala to seek safety by retiring to the Mysore plateau; and when Sōmēśvara renewed the war, he was defeated and killed in a battle fought near Kaṇṇanūr, A.D. 1264. Very soon after, he carried his arms across the territory of the Kāḍavas and Telugu-Cōḍas, up to Nellore where he held a Vīrābhiṣēka. When the tide of Pāṇḍyan power was thus rising to its full height, Rājēndra III and Vīra Rāmanātha had to carry on anyhow without provoking

[86] *ARE*. 1931, II, 16.
[87] *PK*. pp. 160 ff.

the mighty conqueror and they must have been drawn more closely together by their common adversity.

Very few inscriptions of Rājēndra are found outside the Cōḷa country proper, and none after his fifteenth year, A.D. 1261. An inscription of the thirteenth year A.D. 1259 from Nandalūr in Cuddapah, and another dated two years later from Tripurāntakam (Kurnool) are the last traces of a suzerainty that had long ceased to be more than nominal.

End of Rājēndra's reign.

The latest regnal year cited in the inscriptions of Rājēndra is the thirty-third, corresponding roughly to A.D. 1279. An undated inscription from Tirukkaṇṇapuram[88] mentions a certain Śēmāppiḷḷai called by the king '*nammagan*', 'our son'; but as this description is often applied to feudatories in Cōḷa inscriptions, it is doubtful if Śēmāpiḷḷai was really a son of Rājēndra III.[89] He also figures as a feudatory of Vīra Pāṇḍya. A queen of Rājēndra is apparently mentioned under the title Śōḷa-kula-mādēviyār in an inscription from Tiruveṇṇainallūr about A.D. 1263.[90] Rājēndra apparently had few feudatories under him; a Śōḷa-Gangan and a Kaḷappāḷan are the only names to be noted in this connection.[91] Gangaikoṇḍa-Cōḷapuram continued to be the capital, and God Naṭarāja of Cidambaram the *iṣṭadēvata* of the king.[91a]

[88] 515 of 1922.

[89] *Contra. ARE.* 1923, II. 45.

[90] 427 of 1921.

[91] 194 of 1926; 202 of 1908; 339 of 1925.

[91a] 93 of 1897.

At the close of Rājēndra's reign, the Pāṇḍyan empire was at the height of its prosperity and had taken the place of the Cōḷa empire in the eyes of foreign observers like the Chinese and the Arabs. There is no evidence that Rājēndra was followed immediately by another Cōḷa prince, so that the Cōḷa kingdom was more completely absorbed in the Pāṇḍyan empire than the southern kingdom ever was in the Cōḷa empire in the days of its glory. The name Cōḷa-maṇḍalam long survived the Cōḷa kingdom itself and was subsequently corrupted into Coromandel. Chieftains of later times sometimes claimed descent from the Cōḷas either through branches of the Telugu-Cōḍa dynasty or more directly from the Cōḷas of the Tamil country. A certain Vīra Śaiva Vīra Pratāpa Cōḷa Rāja with many high-sounding titles is found ruling in the Bangalore district in Ś. 1223, A.D. 1301.[92] About the same time Vīra Cōḍa and his son Vīra Campa are found in the North Arcot District.[93] An otherwise unknown branch of Telugu Cōḍas is represented in the Madras Museum plates of Bhaktirāja dated Ś. 1277.[94] Very much later, in A.D. 1481 and 1530 we find inscriptions in the island of Śrīrangam recording gifts by Vālaka Kāmaya and Cennaya Bālaya, both bearing the characteristic Telugu-Cōḍa title, *Uṟaiyūrpuravarādhīśvara.*[95] The Cōḷas are mentioned in the Koḷiñjivāḍi plates of Acyutadēvarāya.[96] Among the latest references to

[92] *EC.* ix, Bn. 96.
[93] 3 of 1890; *EI.* iii, pp. 70-2.
[94] *JOR.* v. pp. 128 ff.
[95] 30 of 1891; 56 of 1892.
[96] *Bhārati*, Āngirasa, Śrāvaṇa.

chieftains of Cōḷa extraction must be counted an interesting record from Kumbakōṇam of the grant of two villages for worship and offerings to Ādi-Kumbhēśvara by Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gururāja Rudra-dēva-Śōḷa-Mahārāja in Ś. 1476 (A.D. 1554).[97]

[97] 291 of 1927. Other references, rather vague, occur in Vijayanagar records—e.g. *MAR.* 1928, p. 51, ll. 7-8 of 44.

CHAPTER XVII

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CŌḶA EMPIRE

Introductory.

In this and the succeeding chapters, an attempt is made to describe the state of government and society in the Cōḷa country from the accession of Vijayālaya to the downfall of the Cōḷa empire. Such a description must necessarily be very imperfect, as it has to be pieced together from scanty material, scattered over a wide area and as yet but little understood. Numerous as are the inscriptions, the task of interpreting them can hardly be said to have begun, and but for the access I had, by the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India, to the unpublished inscriptions in the epigraphist's office at Madras, this survey should have remained even more meagre than it is. The deplorable lack of a settled chronology for the indigenous literature imposes a serious handicap on the student who seeks to use it in historical reconstruction. Welcome as it is, the light shed on South Indian affairs by foreign travellers and chroniclers of this age is faint and flickering. Numismatics again offers us more problems than solutions; and taking the area and duration of Cōḷa rule into account, we may well say that the number and variety of Cōḷa coins known to-day are almost inconsiderable. Fortunately, we seem to be in a better situation with regard to the monuments of the period, and there is no lack of authentic and valuable material for an appreciation of

its architecture and sculpture. For the study of government and social life, however, as for that of political history, our primary source must remain epigraphy, aided by a cautious use of literary material.

The historian of India must perhaps remain a stranger to the bracing effects of a consciousness that his is a study of continuous and progressive tendencies steadily working for the amelioration of his fellow-men. He cannot claim that in any sphere of human activity, whether it be in the production and conservation of wealth, in the creation and development of political organisation, or in devotion to the fine arts, or even in the pursuit of religious life and the practice of moral virtues, often held up as the differentia of Indian culture, there has been a steady advance through centuries towards a higher level of achievement. No country in the world, not even the most fortunate, has altogether escaped disorders and revolutions that have often rudely undone, for a time, the noble results of generations of civilised life and work. But the student of India's past finds it hard to resist the impression that at some stage in her history there set in a rot which, spreading soon over all spheres of life, sapped its vitality and made for the continuous loss of her efficiency. Foreign domination, the ascendancy of caste, the pessimistic outlook on life started by Buddhism and perfected by the Vedānta, and other causes of an equally sweeping character have been brought forward as the possible sources of decay. Even the earlier phase of the history of India, in

which she was most herself, little dominated by the foreigner though by no means unwilling to absorb the good that he brought into her ken, and giving freely of the best in her to the rest of Asia without the least attempt at an enforced cultural, much less physical, domination of the lands enriched by her gifts,—even this phase of her history has often been viewed in the shadow of ideas generated by the decadent phase of her subsequent history. Caste was there, and with it also Buddhism and the philosophy of the Vedānta; none of them, nor all of them taken together, did anything, at one time, to sap the foundations of national life and achievement; and much evidence lies to hand to show that, on the contrary, these and other features of Indian life were the results of earnest and, by all human standards, not unsuccessful efforts to solve pressing problems of social and intellectual life in a manner which, however inconsistent with our modern views on these subjects, appears then to have worked tolerably well towards the promotion of mutual understanding and good-will and contentment in a large section of the human race. The history of the Cōḷa empire belongs, on the whole, to this earlier and happier phase of India's history, and we shall see that, in spite of much that appears primitive and even offensive to us, much greater things were accomplished by corporate and voluntary effort, a greater sense of social harmony prevailed, and a consciousness of active citizenship was more widespread when the Cōḷa kings held their sway in Southern India than in more recent times.

Scope of this study of social life.

The period covered by the following survey extends over more than four centuries, *circa* A.D. 850-1270. Though, strictly speaking, it should embrace the whole of Southern India including the Telugu country which was, for the bulk of the period, an appendage of the Cōḷa empire, still the paucity of Cōḷa records outside the Tamil country proper, and the existence of the records of many local dynasties in these areas which have not yet been as fully studied as they deserve, render it necessary to confine this survey primarily to the Tamil land. The history of the Eastern Cāḷukyas for instance is a great chapter in the annals of the Telugus and their literature; it is hardly possible to do justice to it in what is essentially a study in Tamil history. And what applies to the Telugu area applies also, though not perhaps in the same measure, to the Kēraḷa and Karnāṭa countries. Though these districts may find mention off and on, especially in the study of the administrative system of the Cōḷa empire which embraced them all alike, the following account of social life makes no claim to any approach to fullness with regard to these areas.

Government.

The form of government was now, as in the Śangam age, monarchy. But there was little in common between the primitive and somewhat tribal chieftaincy of the earlier time and the almost Byzantine royalty of Rājarāja and his successors with its numerous palaces, officials and ceremonials and its majestic display of the concentrated resources of an extensive empire. It is inconceivable that

A Byzantine monarchy.

little groups of roving bands with their tambourines and their danseuses could have strolled in a casual manner into the stately mansions of these mighty potentates and gaily accosted them to an hour or two of feast and song, as they did in an earlier age when the 'Crowned King' of the Cōḷa land shared with two other crowned heads some sort of primacy in a land studded with petty principalities held by a somewhat turbulent, but not uncultured, aristocracy. After its recovery from the effects of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inroad, the Cōḷa monarchy embraced the whole of Southern India and extended east to west from sea to sea, while its sway was bounded on the north by an irregular line from somewhere near Mangalore along the Tungabhadrā and the Vēngi frontier; for Vēngi was so closely connected with the Cōḷa kingdom in the period 1000 to 1150 or so, that, though its separate political existence continued throughout in all its vigour, for all practical purposes of inter-state diplomacy, it counted more or less as part of the Cōḷa empire. The principal conquests of the Cōḷas took place in the interval between the accession of Sundara Cōḷa and that of Rājēndra I, and mainly in the reign of the great Rājarāja. And as in his reign the Cōḷa kingdom ceases to be a small state and grows to imperial dimensions, the monarchy undergoes a corresponding transformation, and the king may be said now to become 'Emperor', 'Cakravartigaḷ'[1] as he is occasionally called by his subjects, though in his official records he is still described only as 'Uḍaiyār',

[1]This expression occurs even in some records of Parāntaka I (e.g. 1 and 2 of 1898).

and not till much later is the title "Emperor of the Three Worlds" adopted or the queen mentioned along with the king in public documents as possessing the whole world.[2] Under Rājarāja also begins the system of prefacing the stone records of the reign with an account in set form of the chief occurrences of the reign.[3] This innovation may be said to have marked the consciousness of the change in the position of the monarch. Another symbol of the same consciousness might be found in the magnificent lithic temple of Rājarājēśvara in Tañjāvūr which rose in the proportion and technique of its architecture as much above any other temple then known, as the Cōḷa empire itself did above the earlier kingdoms of the south.

The Capitals.

Tañjāvūr, the Tanjore of the modern maps, was the Tañjāpurī chosen by Vijayālaya for the seat of his new power and the abode of the goddess, Niṣumbhasūdanī, that had vouchsafed him success in his enterprises. Though after the conquest of the Pallava country, Kāñcī became a sort of subsidiary capital in which the kings spent part of their time, Tañjāvūr maintained her position as the chief city

[2] 241 of 1927; 446 of 1918. The title Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān (unequalled king) is applied to Rājarāja himself in l. 112 of the larger Leyden grant. See Anbil plates l. 124 for Kōnōyinmai.

[3] 261 of 1923 and 225 of 1929 raise some doubt on this point. They both contain a *praśasti* beginning *puvi-mangai vaḷara* which is pure rhetoric and gives no incident which might furnish a clue to the identity of the king concerned. The first describes the monarch as Parakēsari Tribhuvanacakravartin Parāntakadēva; and the other calls him Rājakēsari Cakravartin Parāntakadēva, and both records bear the regnal year 9. They come respectively from Koyil-Tēvarāyan-pēṭṭai (Tj.) and Tiruvaḍatturai (SA). It does not seem likely that they belong either to Parāntaka I or Parāntaka II. Paleographically, 261 of 1923 is earlier and may be assigned to the time of Rājarāja I, while the other record is much later, say 12th or even early 13th century. *Ante* i, p. 165, *n.*

of the kingdom till it was eclipsed by the new city of Gangāpurī, which with the vast tank in its neighbourhood, the Cōḷa-gangam, served for many centuries to commemorate the ambition and the vanity of Rājarāja's warlike son, Rājēndra. We have apparently no contemporary account of either of these cities. From the hymns of Karuvūrttēvar celebrating the Rājarājēśvara and the Gangaikoṇḍacōḷēśvara temples in the two places, we learn only that Tanjore had a fort-wall and a deep moat surrounding it, and nothing whatsoever concerning the other city. The big bazaar of Gangaikoṇḍacōḷapuram, and the palace *Śōḷa-kēraḷan* in it are, however, mentioned in the inscriptions of the period,[4] besides the servants of the bathing establishment of the king (*tirumañjanattārvēḷam*) attached to the palace.[5] Paḻaiyāṟu, near Kumbakōṇam, which contained a temple called Arumoḻidēva-Īśvara after Rājarāja's name,[6] seems to have contained a palace which was the favourite residence of Rājarāja's sister Kundavai, and for some time of Rājarāja himself. A small hamlet near Paḻaiyāṟu even now preserves the name Śōḷa-māḷigai within about four miles of the Kumbakōṇam railway station, and a small ruined temple there is said still to mark the site of the ancient palace of which it served as the guardian angel.[7] It has been pointed out before that Rājēndra I built a palace of huge dimensions at Madura, and other places like Uttaramērūr also have traditions of Cōḷa palaces having existed in them.

[4] *SII.* ii 20. 102 of 1926; 182 of 1915.
[5] 510 of 1926; 121 of 1914.
[6] 157 of 1908.
[7] *ARA.* 1909-10, p. 16.

Tañjāvūr.

About Tañjāvūr, the original capital of Vijayālaya and his successors, we learn more from the inscriptions of the period than about any other city. The Big Temple, the most remarkable monument of Rājarāja's reign, was nearing completion about A.D. 1010; it is not possible to decide how long before that date its construction was begun. Though the king's order for engraving on the walls of the temple his gifts to it and those from others was issued early in his twenty-sixth year, A.D. 1011, it seems hardly likely that the work of actual engraving started till nearly three years later.[8] Besides a number of royal palaces inside the city and in its vicinity, and the residence of palace-servants divided into a number of *vēḷams*,[9] we find the names of a large number of streets and quarters of the city mentioned in the records. The big street of Vīraśōḷa, the big bazaar of Tribhuvana-mahādēviyār, are mentioned in inscriptions of an earlier date than the reign of Rājarāja.[10] In that reign a distinction comes up between the inner (*uḷḷālai*) and the outer (*puṟambaḍi*) city, and it seems possible that the *Puṟambaḍi* was of the nature of an extension, a new city, planned and for the most part built in the reign of Rājarāja himself, though the big bazaar named above had been in existence for some time already.[11] It is

[8]*SII*. ii, Introd., pp. 14-5.

[9]Kōyil, *SII*. ii, 1; Citrakūṭa palace—73 of 1923; Puṟambaḍimāḷigai—Leyden grant l. 116. For the Vēḷams of Tanjore see 241 of 1926; 226 of 1911; 225 of 1911; *SII*. ii, 94 and 95; 401 of 1921; 142 of 1919 and other references.

[10]49 of 1897; 241 of 1923.

[11]For names see *SII*. ii, 94.

perhaps noteworthy that among the new streets constituted in Rājarāja's reign were two running East to West, perhaps in front of the big temple, and known as the Northern and Southern Taḷiccēris,—both of them given over entirely to the occupation of four hundred hetaerae who were impressed into the service of the big temple from the various other temples of the kingdom, and whose names are preserved to us with the door numbers of the houses occupied by them.[12] We also learn incidentally of other temples in the city called the Jayabhīma temple and the temple of Tañjai-māmaṇi. And there was a hospital attached to a Viṣṇu temple called after Rājarāja's father Sundara-cōḷaviṇṇagar-ātula-śālai and endowed by his sister Kundavai.[13] Altogether the impression we get is that of a rich, well-provided and progressive city whose life was doubtless dominated by the temple and the court.

Royal Household.

The royal household comprised numerous servants of various descriptions including body-guards of sorts. Several groups of Parivāras are mentioned and distinguished from one another by their individual names formed from the surnames of the kings;[14] that these groups served also as body-guards is clear from their being described occasionally as Tirumeykāppār. The bath-room and kitchen establishments would seem to have been composed more or less exclusively of women. The palace servants were organised into *vēḷams* and settled in separate quarters

[12] *SII.* ii, 66.
[13] 248 and 249 of 1923.
[14] *SII.* ii, 11.

in the cities of Tanjore and Gangaikoṇḍaśōḷapuram;[15] these *vēḷams* were often recruited from the men and women captured in war.) We have to look upon this crowd of personal servants as in the enjoyment of a fair competence in return for generally very light work; the status of the members of the *vēḷams* was perhaps that of a not unpleasant servitude to which the less sensitive among them might have reconciled themselves in a short time.

"At state banquets", we read in Chau Ju-kua, on the Cōḷa Dominion,[16] "both the Prince and four Court Ministers salaam at the foot of the throne, then the whole (company present) break into music, song and dancing. He (the Prince) does not drink wine, but he eats meat, and, as is the native custom, dresses in cotton clothing and eats flour-cakes. For his table and escort he employs 'fully a myriad dancing-girls, three thousand of whom are in attendance daily in rotation.'"

(Apparently each important member of the royal family had his own *entourage* of such personal attendants;) this is seen from such expressions in the inscriptions as: "In the particular service (*taniccēvagam*) of Uḍaiyār Kōdaṇḍarāma," "the Śatru-bhayankarat-terinda-vēḷam of Pañcavan Mahādēviyār"[17] and so on. (The king, his queens and their numerous relatives set the example, so generally followed

[15] We gather about twenty names of *vēḷams* from the inscriptions of the period from Parāntaka I to Rājēndra II. See, e.g., 241 of 1926; 225 and 226 of 1911; 240 of 1894; 627 of 1909; 340 of 1927; *SII.* ii, 94 and 95; 212 of 1911; 401 of 1921; 323 of 1927; 142 of 1919; 121 of 1914; 63 and 64 of 1928. We have mention also of *Taḍimārum Kudiraiccēvagar* in 459 of 1918.

[16] Chau Ju-kua, p. 95.

[17] 342 of 1907, 62 of 1928.

by the official nobility, the merchants and other well-to-do classes of society, of erecting temples and endowing them on a liberal scale, and spending considerable sums of money on the reclamation of land, promotion of irrigation works, maintenance of schools and hospitals and other useful works.) In order to be able properly to comprehend the loving regard and affection which generally actuated the feelings of the people towards their rulers of various grades, we must take account, among other things, of the generous measure in which much that was collected from the people by way of numerous taxes, aids and dues was returned to them in the form of charitable endowments. Such endowments formed indeed an essential feature of national economy, and it is important to grasp the significance, political and social, of the lead given by the court in this respect.

Dāna preferred to yajña.

(One circumstance worthy of some attention is the paucity of references to Vedic sacrifices performed by the monarchs of the period. The *aśvamēdha* occurs only once and that in the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja. The poems of the Śangam age doubtless imply that such costly Vedic rituals were more common in that age. More emphasis seems to be laid in this period on *dāna*, gift, in preference to *yāga*, sacrifice.) Occasions for such gifts are multiplied not only by the elaborate organisation of temples and worship in them, and the studied effort to group all social amenities round the temple as a nucleus, but by the newer means of obtaining religious merit

enjoined on the rich in general, and on royalty in particular, such as the *tulābhāra,* the *hiraṇyagarbha* and so forth. It is one of the most remarkable achievements of mediaeval Hinduism to have harnessed the religious emotions of man in the effective service of society. The temple and the *maṭha* flourishing on *dāna* (gifts) together with the *agrahāra,* the *caturvēdimangalam* of the Cōḷa inscriptions, are the most typical expressions of this phase of South Indian religion. The Jain *paḷḷis* and the Bauddha *vihāras* also derived benefit from this general movement.

Rāja-guru.

That the Cōḷa monarchs were staunch Śaivas in their religious persuasion is a well established fact. Śaivism, like many other sectarian manifestations of latter-day Hinduism, required its followers to obtain initiation from a *guru;* the Cōḷa kings no doubt followed this rule and there must have been in existence a succession of *rāja-gurus* during the whole period of Cōḷa rule. The names of Īśāna Śiva and Śarva Śiva stand out from the inscriptions of the reigns of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra, and bear testimony to the North Indian connections of the Śaivism of the Cōḷa Court. A *guru-dēvar* revered by the king as his spiritual preceptor is mentioned in an inscription of Rājādhirāja I.[18] Another *rāja-guru* is mentioned by a Mysore inscription of the reign of Kulōttunga I which records that the king followed the advice of the *guru* in granting a Brahmadēya

[18] 413 of 1902.

to 108 *caturvēdibhaṭṭas.*[19]. And the position held by uḍaiyār Svāmidēvar in the reign of Kulōttunga III shows that the guru generally acted as the king's adviser in the administration of religious institutions; Svāmidēvar, for instance, disapproved of certain dispositions made by the king regarding the conduct of worship in the temples at Tirukkaḍaiyūr on the death of one of the priests; when the king came to know of it, he revised his orders and appointed the men recommended by Svāmidēvar as having a just claim to the place.

Temples as sepulchral monuments.

Several temples of the period, and often also the chief icons in them, were called after the ruling kings who established them. The worship accorded to idols called sometimes after living monarchs seems to have been connected with the apotheosis of royal personages after their demise. This practice in the form of the cult of Dēvarāja, 'God-king', was even more widespread in the Indian archipelago and the contemporary kingdoms of the Indo-chinese peninsula than in Southern India.[20] More closely allied to Śaivism than any other form of Hinduism, the prevalence in the Cōḷa country of the notions that gave rise to the cult of Dēva-rāja is attested by inscriptions which mention the construction of sepulchral temples over the remains of kings and princes. The Ādityēśvara at Toṇḍamānāḍ erected as a *paḷḷipaḍai* to his father by Parāntaka I,[21] the

[19] *MAR.* 1917, pp. 42-4.
[20] Maspero—*L'Indochine* I, p. 260.
[21] 230 of 1903.

Ariñjigai-Īśvara at Mēlpāḍi built by Rājarāja I likewise to commemorate Ariñjaya who died at Āṟṟūr,[22] and the Pañcavanmādēvīśvara in Rāmanāthan Kōyil apparently erected by Rājēndra I[23] are among the most conspicuous examples of this practice. The existence of human bones underneath the Sanctum Sanctorum in several temples has been revealed in recent times when their renovation was started;[24] and the growing disapproval of this practice in later times is shown by the attempt to erase the word '*paḷḷipaḍai*' in the inscription at Rāmanāthankōyil just referred to.[25]

Portrait images.

An image of Sundaracōḷa Parāntaka II is said to have been set up in the temple at Tanjore and arrangements made for its worship by his daughter Kundavai who also endowed another image either of herself or her mother in the same place.[26] There were also images of Rājarāja and his queen Lōkamahādēvi.[27] The temple in the village of Śembiyanmahādēvi, so called after the pious queen of Gaṇḍarāditya, contained an im'age of the queen, likewise regularly worshipped.[28] Inscribed images of a more or less authentic character supposed to represent Rājēndra and Cōḷamahādēvi are found to day in the temples of Tanjore and Kāḷahasti.[29] These examples

[22] *SII*. iii, 16.

[23] 271 of 1927.

[24] *ARA*. 1915-16, p. 34.

[25] *ARE*. 1927, II, 13.

[26] *SII*. ii, 6, paragraphs 14 and 19. The latter has *Tammai āga eḻundaruḷuvitta tirumēni*.

[27] *SII*. ii, 38—paras 14, 17.

[28] 481 of 1925.

[29] *ARE*. 1925 II, 12; and 168b of 1922. Cf. Bhāsa's *Pratimā-nāṭaka* and *EI*. xxi, pp. 4-5.

are enough to establish the divine honours accorded to royal personages after death, and sometimes in their lifetime.

The Army. The king was the head of the army and the navy. Numerous regiments of the army are mentioned by their specific names in the inscriptions. One remarkable feature of the army brought out by these records is that each of these regiments had a corporate life of its own and was free to endow benefactions or build temples in its own name. Sometimes individuals still in service adopted the same course. And we come to know the names of these regiments and individuals from the records of such transactions. In fact we learn more of the part taken by the forces of the king in the civil life of the country than of the details of their military life and organisation. The names of over thirty regiments mentioned in Rājarāja's inscriptions have been collected by Venkayya and the list can easily be extended to about seventy by adding to it names that can be drawn from the records of other reigns before and after Rājarāja. Each of these names clearly commemorated the time when the regiment was constituted, and it possibly recalled, to the minds of contemporaries, the exact occasion for it; many surnames otherwise unknown of the kings of the period are preserved in this manner—Pārthivaśēkhara, Samarakēsari, Vikramaśinga, Tāyatonga, Dānatonga, Caṇḍaparākrama, Rājakuñjara and so on. These names of regiments constitute evidence of the gradual growth of the army

in the early days of Cōḷa expansion and to some extent also of the nature of the different sections of it. We hear for instance of the elephant corps (*ānaiyāṭkaḷ*, *kuñjiramallar* etc.,) the cavalry (*kudiraiccēvagar*), and several divisions among the infantry. The *Kaikkōḷapperumbaḍai*,[30] the great troops of kaikkōḷas, included all the regiments known as Kaikkōḷar. This name has sometimes been interpreted in its modern meaning of 'weavers';[31] but the term has a more literal meaning in the contexts in which it occurs in the Cōḷa inscriptions; it indicates '(a class of) men distinguished by the strength of their arms', or 'the strong men of the wings (of the army),' that is, soldiers of the infantry division in the army. Then there were regiments of bowmen (*villigaḷ*) and swordsmen (*vāḷpeṟṟa kaikkōḷar*). The *vēḷaikkārar* of the *valangai* (Right-hand),—we do not hear of Iḍangai (Left-hand) in this connection,—were another large section comprising several regiments. The conjecture has been made that these were volunteers enlisted on particular occasions (*vēḷai*).[32] This seems to be, however, wide of the mark. In fact, the *vēḷaikkārar* were the most permanent and dependable troops in the royal service, and their designation implies that they were ever ready to defend the king and his cause when occasion (*vēḷai*) arose. This view is supported by some literary references of a somewhat later date.[33] Perhaps

[30] 253 of 1907.

[31] *SII*. ii, p. 390, n. 6; *ARE*. 1919, II, 10.

[32] *SII*. ii, Introd. p. 10.

[33] *EI*. xviii, p. 334. Cf. also the *tiruccūla-vēḷaikkārar* of Puñjai who sacrificed their lives by entering fire to attest the ownership of the temple in some *dēvadāna* lands. (188 of 1925). See also *Ibn Battuta* Tr. by H. A. R. Gibb, (Broadway Travellers), pp. 277-8.

closely analogous to the vēḷaikkārar in organisation and purpose were the Tennavan-Āpattudavigaḷ found in the service of the later Pāṇḍya kings of whom Marco Polo says that they kept always near the king and had great authority in the kingdom.[34] The distinction between Śiṟudanam and Perundanam seems to have cut across the other divisions so far mentioned. Sometimes, regiments were distinguished by territorial names like Pāṇḍip-paḍai.[35]

A unique inscription from Tiruvālīśvaram near Ambāsamudram in the Tinnevelly district furnishes the military history of a regiment which calls itself Mūnṟukai-Mahāsēnai (the Great Army of the Three Arms or sections).[36] Undated though it is, there can be no doubt that the record belongs to the period of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I. In this inscription the Mahāsēnai is said to have constantly worshipped Viṣṇu and Śiva, to have defeated the Kannara and pursued him, to have killed the Gāngēya, to have captured Kalmāḍam and destroyed Viḻiñam on the sea, to have crossed the sea on the other (eastern) side and razed Mātōṭṭam to the ground, to have taken the Hill country (Malai-nāḍu) and routed the fleet (*Kalamaṟuttu*) at Śālai, to have put to flight the Vallān (Cāḷukya) and captured Vanavāsi and to have been praised in song for these achievements by the Tamil poets of Kāḷahasti, to have also destroyed

[34] *PK.* pp. 196-7. See also Abu Zaid's curious account in Ferrand-*Voyage du Marchand Arabe Sulayman*, p. 114.

[35] 255 of 1911.

[36] 120 of 1905. See *EI.* xviii, pp. 334-5 for a similar record from Ceylon of a later date.

the fortress on the hill of Kucci and captured Uccandi (Uccangidroog), to have inflicted a defeat on the Vaḍugas (Northerners) who opposed them, and dismantled the fortifications of Vātāpi and done other things which, on account of a gap in the record, are not easy to follow. The army is also called—the residents of Pāṇḍi-nāḍu, the dauntless soldiers of the Great Army of the Three Arms. They took under their eternal protection the Temple of Tiruvālīśvaram and all its belongings, including its priests and servants. It is evident that the campaigns in which this regiment claims to have fought with such glory were those of the reigns of Rājarāja and his successor. The same regiment again proclaims its ideals of heroism in an inscription from Śērmādēvi in A.D. 1096[37] and solemnly takes under its protection another temple and its properties; here the regiment is called: 'the several armed thousands of the great army of the three divisions (*kai*).'

The army seems to have been spread over the country in the form of local garrisons and in cantonments called *kaḍagams*. Expressions like the *villigaḷ* (bowmen) of Enanallūr-kaḍagam,[38] the troops quartered in Tiruviḍaimarudil,[39] Ivvūrp-paḍait-talaivan (the Captain of the troops in this town)[40] are clear indications of the practice mentioned. After his southern campaigns, Kulōttunga I stationed an army in Kōṭṭāṟu, and established military colonies along the

[37] 189 of 1895.
[38] 394 of 1921.
[39] 242 of 1907.
[40] *TAS*. iv, pp. 134-5.

road from the Cōḷa country to that place.[41] A section of the army was posted in Maḍaviḷāgam in South Arcot in the forty-sixth year of the same king.[42]

We can form no idea of the methods of recruitment or of the numbers of the troops permanently employed in the army. It is remarkable that many of the leaders (sēnāpatis) in the army were of Brahmin extraction and when sufficiently distinguished bore the title Brahmādhirāja. The children born and bred in the *vēḷams*[43] seem to have formed a normal recruiting ground for the army, though they could not have furnished more than a small proportion in it. There is little evidence that the soldiers formed anything like a highly trained professional army having little or nothing in common with the civil population. On the other hand, the evidence is clear that they were not a mere rabble beaten up for particular occasions with no training in the military arts and no taste for the field. An army which included regiments like the Mūnṟukai Mahāsēnai with cherished traditions of their own could hardly have been recruited or maintained in that manner. The mention of *kaḍagams* (cantonments) also goes to show that periodical training in military practice and the enforcement of discipline were not altogether unknown to the military department of the Cōḷa government. But there is much to show that the army was deeply interested in the civil transactions of life, and that its sections acted in many ways like the

[41] *TAS.* i, p. 246, *SII.* iii. 69, ll. 27-29.
[42] 389 of 1925.
[43] 627 of 1909, *ARE.* 1910, II 19.

innumerable local corporations of a professional or territorial character of which we shall have to speak in detail later. The numerous charitable endowments made by them as groups and by their individual members, and the protection of the Tiruvālīśvaram temple undertaken by the Mūnṟukai-Mahāsēnai have already been mentioned. We find three regiments of the Kaikkōḷappaḍai of Rājarāja I[44] co-operating with a revenue official (*nāḍu vagai*) at Sōmūr in imposing and realising a fine levied on the authorities of the local temple for their default in not organising a procession of the image of the goddess on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Later Cōḷa inscriptions from Kuḍumiyāmalai in the Pudukkottah state mention two divisions of the army interesting themselves in civic affairs. In the thirty-sixth year of Kulōttunga I (A.D. 1106), the mūnṟu-paḍaip-poṟkōyil Kaikkōḷar and the nāṭṭup-paḍai paḷiyili aiññūṟṟuvar undertake to co-operate with the assembly of the *nāḍu* in maintaining a charitable endowment made in favour of the local temple.[45] Again, in the year 1213, the Kaikkōḷar mentioned above are described as stationed in Kōnāḍu and undertake to provide for the celebration of a number of festivals every year in the same temple.[46] It must be noted, incidentally, that the two divisions of the army here mentioned appear to have constituted two out of the four kinds of troops prescribed in the books on Indian polity—hereditary (*maula*), mercenary (*bhṛtaka*), militia (*śrēṇi*), and tribal (*aṭavi*). The *kaikkōḷar*

[44]67 of 1890.
[45]353 of 1904.
[46]364 of 1906.

were perhaps royal troops receiving regular pay from the treasury; the *nāṭṭuppaḍai* was the popular militia, called *śrēṇī* or *jānapada* by Kauṭilya, and employed perhaps only for local defence.[47] Who the faultless 500 (*paḻiyili aiññūṟṟuvar*) were and what relation they bore to the rest of the *nāṭṭuppaḍai*, it is not possible to say.

Almost to the end of the period of Cōḷa power the composition of the army and its role in the civil life of the community apparently continued to remain the same as at the beginning. In the reign of Rājarāja III, a member of the regiment called Narasinga Vikkirama Vīrar built a temple at Pulivāy (Chingleput) and made some gifts to it.[48]

(A Chinese author, writing in 1178, gives the following account of the Cōḷa country and its army:[49] "This country is at war with the kingdoms of the West (of India ?). The government owns sixty thousand war-elephants, every one seven or eight feet (cubits ?) high. When fighting, these elephants carry on their backs houses, and these houses are full of soldiers who shoot arrows at long range, and fight with spears at close quarters. When victorious, the elephants are granted honorary names to signalize their merit, and there are some who bestow upon them embroidered housings and golden mangers. Every day the elephants are taken into the presence of the king.")

[47] *Kuṟal* 762 and Parimēl-aḻagar thereon; Kauṭilya, Adhi. ix, ch. 2.
[48] 159 of 1923.
[49] Cited by Chau Ju-kua, p. 96; also p. 100, *n*. 8.

Effects of Wars. The idyllic view of war which makes it a joust among professionals interfering little with the normal life of the neighbourhood gains no support from our sources. From them war is seen to be a grim business of fire and sword; and, to judge from the inscriptions of the Cōḷas themselves, no less than of their enemies, the Cāḷukyas, life was made an intolerable burden for many generations to the people on either side of the Tungabhadrā by the bitterness of warfare. Even the common rules of fair fighting and chivalry seem often to have been ignored and much wanton injury inflicted on non-combatant populations, and women subjected to cruel disgrace and mutilation. The evidence from Ceylon and the Karnatak is too glaring to be set aside or glossed over. The destruction of temples of which Rājēndra I is accused in a Cāḷukya inscription was no doubt due in part to religious differences and in part to cupidity; Rājēndra was a Śaiva and the temples were richly endowed Jaina *bastis* in the enemy country and were fair game. The amount of booty that fell into the hands of the Cōḷas as a result of foreign war must have been enormous, and the Cōḷa inscriptions make no secret of the benefactions of the monarchs being often only the bestowal of plundered wealth on public institutions.[50] The booty captured in war belonged to the king who disposed of it at his will. In his sixth year, Rājarāja I ordered that nine hundred sheep captured from Śippuli and Pāki *nāḍus* were to be employed

[50] See e.g. *SII.* ii, 91 and 93.

in endowing ten lamps in his own name in the temple of Durgā at Kāñcīpuram.[51] Again, we find an officer petitioning the king for the gift of one of the icons brought after the conquest of Malanāḍ, and obtaining, as a result, an image of Marakatadēvar which he installed at Tiruppaḷanam soon after.[52]

The Navy.

The 'numberless ships' which carried Rājēndra's troops across the 'rolling sea' to the conquest of Śrī-vijaya and its dependencies could not have come up suddenly and must be accepted as proof of a steady naval policy pursued by the Cōḷa monarchs of the period. The early Cōḷas of the Śangam period had a good share in the maritime trade and activity of the Indian seas. The history of the Hindu colonies in the Malay archipelago and Indo-China gives clear evidence of a steady increase, under the Pallavas, in the trade and culture contacts between these lands and the countries of South India. The Tamil inscription[53] of Takuapa (Siam) shows that an important mercantile corporation of South India, the *maṇigrāmam*, had established itself on the opposite coast of the Bay of Bengal in the ninth century A.D. The Cōḷas only continued an ancient tradition in the attention they gave to developing their power on the sea. The conquest of Ceylon and the Maldives, and the evidence of the Chinese annals on the embassies that reached China in this period from the Cōḷa country give us some measure of the success they attained in this

[51] 79 of 1921.
[52] 135 of 1928.
[53] *JOR*. vi. pp. 299 ff.

direction. And the overthrow of the Cēra fleet at Kāndaḷūr Śālai may well be taken to mark the definite establishment of Cōḷa naval power in this period in the territorial waters of Southern India. We have little direct evidence on the build of the ships employed. Considering that the author of the Periplus distinguished three types of vessels several centuries earlier on the Coromandel coast and that the naval expedition of Rājēndra was a great achievement in itself, the existence of a well-ordered fleet comprising ships and boats of different grades must be admitted. The Arab merchant Sulaiman made several voyages between China and the Persian Gulf in the ninth century A.D., at a time when this long distance trade was being carried on very briskly. In his curious account of the Maldives, he says that the people of these islands "built ships and houses and executed all other works with a consummate art."[54] Sulaiman had no occasion to visit the Coromandel coast; and his voyages were made before the rise of the Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line into prominence. Taking into account Sulaiman's testimony to the quality of the ships built in the Maldives, and the conquest of these islands effected by Rājarāja's fleet, we may form some idea of the efficiency of the Cōḷa navy in this period. Abu Zaid Hasan, in the notes which he added to Sulaiman's work about the beginning of the tenth century A.D., observes that the vessels of the Indian ocean, specially those made at Siraf, differed in construction from those of the Mediterranean. "It is a

[54]Ferrand, *Voyage*, p. 32. Wilson, *Persian Gulf*, pp. 57-8 and *n.* Pelliot casts a doubt on Sulaiman's authorship of the work attributed to him, *T'oung Pao*, xxi, pp. 401-2.

fact that the type of ship built by pieces of wood sewn together is a speciality of the builders of Siraf; the ship-builders of Syria and of Rum (Byzantium) nail, on the contrary, these pieces of wood and never sew them one to the other."[55] To-day we can see boats on the Madras coast with planks 'sewn' together by threads of cocoanut fibre. But these are usually of a small size; and the observations of Abu Zaid based on what he saw and heard at Siraf about A.D. 916 on navigation in the Indian ocean[56] should be no obstacle to a just estimate of the size and importance of the navy of the Cōḷa empire more than a century later. If the Arab writers are too early, Marco Polo comes unfortunately too late, and we are without a good contemporary account of ship-building on the Coromandel coast under the Cōḷas. Ahmad-ibn Majid, an Arab writer of the fifteenth century and author of several nautical works, makes frequent allusion to the opinions of the Cōḷas which he approves or modifies. He must have had before him a specialised nautical literature of Tamil (Cōḷa) origin which he compared with Arab documents of a like nature. This literature must have included geographical tables with indications of the latitude of ports for the use of the mariners of the Coromandel coast.[57] Of this technical literature mentioned by this and other Arab writers, unfortunately no part seems to have survived.

[55] Ferrand, *op. cit.*, p. 93. See also Renadout—*Ancient Accounts*—Remark 'E', and Marco Polo.

[56] Ferrand-*Voyage*, 14.

[57] "Dans tous ses ouvrages nautiques, Ibn Mājid fait fréquemment allusion à l' opinion des Colas qu'il approuve ou rectifie. Ce'st qu'il devait avoir en main les *Instructions nautiques* et les tables géographiques avec indication de la latitude des ports, utilisées par les marins du Coromandel et qu'il les comparait avec les documents arabes de même nature." Ferrand, *JA.* 11: 14, (1919) pp. 171-2.

The King.

The king's share in the public administration consisted in the issue of oral orders (*tiruvāyk-kēḻvi*) on representations made to him by responsible officials on particular matters requiring the personal attention of the sovereign; officials were always in attendance on such occasions and it was their duty to make a note of the terms of the petition made to the king and his orders thereon, and to transmit copies of such records to the authorities of the central or local administration concerned for necessary action. The time and place of the original petition, the name of the officer who presented it, and even the particular hall or throne where the monarch received the petition were often noted in reciting the order for being recorded in public places, usually the walls of temples. Rājarāja, for instance, is said in the larger Leyden grant to have ordered the gift of Ānaimangalam to the *paḷḷi* (temple) of the Śūḷāmaṇi-padma-vihāra while he was sitting in the hall to the south of his palace called Rājāśraya in the outer city (*puṟambaḍi*) of Tañjāvūr; and the order was written out by a clerk,—*nām śolla nam ōlai eḻudum....Amudan-tīrttakaran eḻuttināl.*[58] Other instances may be easily gathered and sometimes the same form is adopted in the records of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys, who were invariably members of the royal family.[59] Most of these examples relate, however, to gifts in one form or another; though it does not seem likely that the method of dealing with other matters

[58] *ASSI*. iv, pp. 208-9. ll. 116 and 128.

[59] 114 of 1896; 420 of 1925; 327 of 1916; *TAS*. i, pp. 164-8, etc.

differed very much, the very one-sided character of the inscriptions makes it difficult to prove this conclusively.

There is no definite evidence of the existence of a council of ministers or of other officers connected with the central government. A numerous and powerful bureaucracy assisted the king in the tasks of administration, which were those of controlling, supervising and regulating an existing order, changing it, if at all, only by imperceptible steps. No government of an Indian state ever enjoyed in those days legislative power in the modern sense of the term; there was no legislature proper, nor any attempt at legislative control of the executive. What legislation there was took the form of declarations (*Vyavasthas*) by local associations of sorts, meant to meet the requirements of new situations as they arose. Such declarations in so far as they conformed to a general conception of what was fair and proper (Dharma), that is in so far as they commanded support from the public opinion of the class or group concerned, formed part of the social code, and were liable in the ultimate resort to be enforced by the king's government. Indian Society did not commit to the care of government anything more than the tasks of police and justice. Even the adjudication of disputes among individuals and groups often took place without reference to the officers of the crown, and went up to them only in the last resort, when other means had failed. The essentials of social regulation

State and Society.

were undertaken by numberless local groups of a hereditary or voluntary character, and the duty of the central government was only to maintain the general conditions of peace and security needed for these numerous social organisations to thrive and fulfil their several purposes. The law-codes (*Smṛtis*) and the learned (*śiṣṭas*), as well as the elders in each group, commanded the allegiance of these social groups more readily than royal mandates that contravened Law (Dharma) and custom (*ācāra*). The king was in no sense a law-maker; he was only the guardian of social life and laws.

The Cōḷa bureaucracy.

In this respect the Cōḷa government did not differ perceptibly from its contemporaries. What distinguished it from them was the superior executive strength it was able to develop by bringing into existence a highly organised and thoroughly efficient bureaucracy. It saw to it, moreover, that the growing host of officials by no means interfered with the free life and the initiative of local authorities and associations, while at the same time they controlled them efficiently and kept them on the straight path by a periodical scrutiny of their affairs. The more one reads the contemporary records, the more one begins to admire the nice balance struck between centralised control and local initiative, the clear distinction, ever present, between the functions of the state and those of the social group. The individual, as such, did not count. The problem of 'the man versus the state' never arose in a society that is best described as a federation of groups.

The hierarchy of officials in the service of the king were in the enjoyment of titles and distinctions which marked them off from one another and from the rest of society. Some of these were titles of ancient renown like *ēnādi*, and *mārāyan*, found mentioned as early as the age of the Śangam. From the context in which the author of the *Tolkāppiyam*[60] mentions *mārāyam*, it would seem originally to have been a military title indicating distinction won on the field of battle. In the inscriptions of this period, however, we find the title in more common use for designating persons in civil occupations like Kaḍigai-mārāyan, Vāccciya-mārāyan and so on. We have also the title *mārāśi*, the feminine of *mārāyan*, applied to the wives of the *mārāyas*.[61] *Araiyan* and *pēraraiyan* are other titles also of quite common occurrence and conferred on persons distinguished in civil occupations like—*nittap-pēraraiyan* (grand master of the dance). We have also the general title *adigārigaḷ* used to describe the higher officers in the army and in general administration which were not differentiated from each other in those days as they are now. These *adigārigaḷ* often described themselves by the name of the ruling sovereign followed by the phrase *mūvēndavēḷār* and it is often impossible, as a result, to detect their personal names, and unless particular care is taken, one is apt easily to mistake one officer for another with similar or

Official nobility.

[60] *Poruḷ, Puṛattiṇai* sūtra 8 and Iḷampūraṇar thereon who seems to interpret the text better than Naccinārkkiniyar.

[61] 73A of 1895. *Mārāyan* and *pēraraiyan* mean the same thing as *mahārāja*. *Kaḍigai* is a division of time, and *Kaḍigai-m.* time-keeper, while *vācciya* is a derivative of *vādya*, musical instrument.

even identical titles. The annotator of the *Takkayāgapparaṇi,* writing no doubt some centuries after our period, gives a quaint account of the class of *adigārigaḷ,* which may be rendered thus: "The *adigārigaḷ* are said to have come of the families descended from Bhōjarāja. Members of these families only accepted appointments as *mantris,* and did no other work. It is an improper thing that they are found holding the position of accountants in these days; except that they could not wear a crown, they are entitled to all the other insignia of royalty, and it is improper for them to accept any positions other than those of *mantris.*"[62] This curious legend shows how quickly the new class of official nobility that was coming up as a result of the elaboration of the Cōḷa administrative system developed group-traditions of its own and how readily such inventions gained currency. The wives of the *adigāris* may have been called *adigāriccis;* but we have obvious instances of the women in the female establishments of the queens bearing the title in their own right.[63] A more general distinction often found in the records of the period is that between the higher grade and lower grade of official nobility, so to say. The terms *'perundaram'* and *'śiṟutaram'* (often with *'tanam'* written for *'taram'*) seem to imply this distinction more than anything else;[64] the officers and servants, *karumigaḷ* and *paṇimakkaḷ,* even, at times, divisions of the army, are mentioned as belonging to the *perundanam* or the *śiṟudanam.*[65]

[62] Gloss on v. 179. The title 'Perunambi' is also explained here, and connected with the 'Adigāri' title.

[63] 463 of 1918; 213 of 1894; 95 of 1928.

[64] *ARE.* 1913, II, 22. *EI.* xviii, p. 336.

[65] 29 of 1897; *SII.* ii, 82-83.

Sometimes an intermediate status is also implied by the term *śiṟudanattup-perundaram* to which even commanders of troops, *sēnāpatis* are assigned.[66] It is also to be noted that not only the king, but some of his more important feudatories like Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar Kaṇḍan-maṟavan,[67] and perhaps also other members of the royal family, employed officials and servants grouped in such higher and lower grades. The earliest mention of the *perundaram* in a datable record is in the fifth year of Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari,[68] *c.* A.D. 961. Eight officers of Rājarāja, of the *perundaram* rank, along with some others, were caught by the king in some act of cowardice or misdemeanour, and endowed lamps in the Tanjore temple apparently in fulfilment of vows they had taken to secure divine intercession against their being disgraced by the king.[69] *Nyāyattār* (judges) of both *perundanam* and *śiṟudanam* are mentioned in the reign of Rājādhirāja II.[70]

Recruitment; tenure.

Little is known of the manner in which the officials of different grades were chosen for appointment in the first instance and for promotion to higher ranks thereafter. Birth and high connection must have conferred some advantage at the start, though the subsequent career might have depended largely upon the individual ability of a person, and the occasions for distinguished

[66] *SII.* ii, 56; 84 of 1895.
[67] 106 of 1895.
[68] 246 of 1912.
[69] *SII.* ii, p. 477 *n.*
[70] 224 of 1923.

service which he got and utilised successfully. As even the succession to the throne appears to have been determined by a proper regard for the individual merits of those who might be deemed eligible for it, and as successive kings are seen to have used their discretion freely and fearlessly, not hesitating to keep out the unfit and always seeking to instal as heir-apparent the ablest person of their own generation or the next, it is not a violent assumption to make that the same stress on ability marked the choice and encouragement of public servants in the king's service. The most common method of remunerating officials was that of assigning to each according to his status a certain extent of land[71] which he held as his *jīvita,* and regular cash payments from the public treasury were practically unknown. But the income from such assignments usually consisted of two parts, one realised in kind and the other in cash payments. What was assigned in all these cases was by no means the absolute proprietorship of the soil which always belonged to the individual occupier or the village community, unless indeed their rights were bought out, but the rights of the central government to certain dues from the area so assigned.[72] Such assignments often included a whole village, or even district,[73] and this is the reason why many officials are found described as possessors or leaders (*uḍaiyān, kiḻān*)[74] of

[71] e.g. 419 of 1923.

[72] cf. Anbil plates ll. 173-4 : *Kōttoṭṭuṉṉaṟpāladu eppēṟppaṭṭadum ivanukkēy urittāvaddgavum;* cf. Leyden l. 286-8; Tiruvālangāḍu ll. 442-3.

[73] e.g. 68 of 1923; 177 of 1911. In the reign of Kulōttunga III, a certain Vaḍugan Dēvan gave away a 2|3 share of his rights so assigned to him as *strīdhana* (dowry) to his two daughters, (313 of 1929).

[74] In one instance there is mention of an *ūr-kiḻatti* (297 of 1901).

particular villages or even *nāḍus*. It was open to the assignees to sell or otherwise alienate or give away in part or as a whole the rights assigned to them. The system was open to uncertainties and abuses, though perhaps effectively checked by the accurate record of landrights maintained by the government and by the public opinion of the villages themselves, then more ready to assert itself in various ways than in our times.

Administrative divisions.

The self-governing village was the unit of government. A number of them constituted a *kūṟṟam* or *nāḍu* or *kōṭṭam* as it was called in different parts of the country. What is often described as a *taniyūr* (a town apart) seems to have been a big sized village large enough to form a *kūṟṟam* by itself, as is implied by the phrase occasionally employed in connection with such places—viz. *tan-kūṟṟu*.[75] Several examples of such taniyūrs, in some ways analogous to the boroughs of mediaeval England, can be gathered from the inscriptions.[76] A number of *kūṟṟams* made up a *vaḷanāḍu*, often also called *nāḍu* in the region where the smaller division was called *kōṭṭam* viz. Toṇḍai-nāḍu *alias* Jayangoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam. Above the *vaḷanāḍu*[77] was the *maṇḍalam* or province proper, the largest division of administration. There were about eight or nine of these provinces including Ceylon, at the end of Rājarāja's reign and it does not seem likely that this

[75] *SII.* iii, p. 3, *n.* 7.

[76] e.g. 129 of 1919; 259 of 1921; 167 of 1915; 90 of 1892 etc.

[77] The Leyden grant (l. 77) equates *Janapada* with *kūṟṟam* and *Janapada-nivaha* with *vaḷanāḍu*.

number was ever exceeded.[78] The subordinate divisions evidently underwent numerous reshufflings, and their names were changed so often as to justify the complaint that "Cōḷa geography came to suffer as much from the plague of homonyms as the kings themselves."[79]

Offices: Administration.

The designations and functions of some of the officers of government as they are found in the more important inscriptions of the period give us a very good idea of the numbers and organisation of the executive government of the day. The general terms by which such officers of all ranks are described are *Karumigaḷ* and *Paṇi-makkaḷ*, more or less corresponding to 'officials' and 'servants'. The Anbil plates of Sundara Cōḷa mention a Brahmin *Saciva* by name Aniruddha whose father was a teacher who gloried in a life of learning and instruction, and whose grandfather was an *Āhitāgni* and a devotee of Rangēśa. Aniruddha's was a celebrated family of Vaiṣṇavas from the village of Anbil. What the exact position of this 'noble minister' (*mānya saciva*) of the Jaimini sūtra and the Āvēṇika gōtra was in the administration, we are not told. But he got from the king the title of Brahmādhirāja and a perpetual grant of 10 *vēlis* of land in token of his regard and affection. The machinery employed for the execution of this order of the king is comparatively simple. The order is communicated in the form of a *śrī-mukham* by the *Āṇatti,* the executive officer nominated by the king for the purpose, and the rest is done

[78] *SII.* ii, Introdn. pp. 21-9. Gangapāḍi came to be called Muḍikoṇḍa-śōḻamaṇḍalam (490 of 1911).

[79] *IA.* xxvi (1897), p. 144.

by the local corporations to whom the letter is addressed; and when the transaction is complete and a record of it is drawn up, it is attested by a number of persons who appear to be local magnates and describe themselves in various ways as Nāṭṭukkōn, Nāḍu-kiḻavan, Ūruḍaiyān and so on. It is difficult to decide if these witnesses were only prominent men of the neighbourhood or held definite posts under government. However that may be, the procedure followed some years later under similar circumstances is far more elaborate and furnishes a measure of the complexity of the administrative organisation that had grown in the interval. The larger Leyden grant and the Tiruvālangāḍu plates exhibit a close resemblance with regard to their official forms. The grant of Ānaimangalam to the Bauddha shrine in the Cūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra was ordered by the king on the 92nd day of the twenty-first year of his reign, recorded on the ninety-sixth day of the same year, and the execution was completed on the 113th day of the twenty-third year.[80] The corresponding dates for the grant of Paḻaiyanūr as a *dēvadāna* recorded in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates of Rājēndra I are: the 88th and 90th days in the sixth regnal year, and 155th in the seventh of that monarch.[81]

We have an instance reported in an inscription[82] of Uttama Cōḷa which furnishes an early example of remissness and neglect with regard to details,

[80] ll. 115, 148-9, and 434.
[81] ll. 6, 62, and 517, Tamil Text.
[82] 286 of 1906. (*SII.* iii, 142).

partly due to the fact that the system of audit and control elaborated in later times had not yet arrived. The village Śiṟṟiyāṟṟūr was granted as a *dēvadāna* and *brahmadēya* in the twenty-first year of Āditya I, apparently soon after his overthrow of Aparājita and the annexation of Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. Although a *śāsana* was drawn up in the very next year, the grant was not entered in the account books till the fourth year of Parāntaka I, or more than twelve years later. Again, in the 36th year of Parāntaka I a fresh allocation was made of the dues from the lands (granted to the temple) for which the assembly of Puduppākkam was responsible; the assembly apparently managed to evade the enhanced assessment due from it in consequence; towards the close of Uttama Cōḷa's reign the whole subject was brought up for enquiry before the king at Kāñcīpuram, the defaulters punished, and the rights of the temple restored. The confusion in this instance may have also been partly due to the disturbed state of the times following the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion.[83] In this instance, the complaint against the sabhā of Puduppākkam, is laid before a high official at the Court, having the title Śōḷamūvēnda-Vēḷān, by the authorities of the temple; that official takes it to the king;[84] the king himself summons to his presence the parties concerned and delivers judgement after enquiry, confirming the

[83] 330 of 1917 (Rājādhirāja 30) is an example of unusual delay in the execution of an order. 332 of 1916 is evidence of the same procedure being followed by the Viceroys of the Pāṇḍya country.

[84] ll. 34-6.

old grants to the temple and the responsibility of Puduppākkam for the supply of a certain quantity of paddy and a fixed amount of gold, and orders the necessary entries to be made in the rolls. The officers present on the occasion were one *karumi,* two *naḍuvirukkai,* who acted as *āṇatti* and *vāykkēḷvi;* the order was written out by an *uttaramantri* on duty (*ōlai-eḻudum*), and compared and attested by the *ōlai-nāyagam;* then a *karumi*[85] ordered the entry to be made in the registers (*variyiliṭṭuk-koḷga*) in accordance with this document (*tīṭṭu*); and then, four officers of the *puravu-vari* one of whom was an *uttaramantri,* one of the *varippottagam,* four *mukavеṭṭi* officers, three officers of the *puravu-vari* of Toṇḍaināḍu, two of the *varippottagak-kaṇakku,* and two of the *variyilīḍu* were present together and made the entries in the official records and attested them. In the Leyden grant are enumerated all these stages in almost identical form,[86] and there is one more step at the end; an officer called *mandira-ōlai* sends a *tirumugam* to the *nāṭṭār* of the *Paṭṭinak-kūṟṟam* requesting them to make an *aṟavōlai* (charity-deed) after marking off in a solemn manner the boundaries of the village granted, which they do in the presence of a *puravu-vari* officer. It may be observed, in passing, that this particular grant seems to be signed by the representative officers of all the villages of the Paṭṭinakkūṟṟam. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates mention also these later stages culminating in the drawing up of an *aṟavōlai,* and

[85] At this stage the Tiruvālangāḍu plates have five *adigārigaḷ* (ll. 485-94) and the Leyden grant apparently nine officers. (ll. 138-43).

[86] ll. 129-150.

further introduce the names of some new offices like *puravuvari - tiṇaik - kaḷam,*[87] *paṭṭōlai, kīḻ-mugaveṭṭi, puravuvaritiṇaik-kaḷattuk-kaṇkāṇi* in addition to those already named.

The same officers are mentioned in similar connections in many other records. The Tirumukkūḍal inscription of Vīrarājēndra,[88] for instance, records the following stages: the monarch's oral order is written out (*eḻuttu*) by a *tirumandira-ōlai,* and compared (*oppu*) by the three officers called *tiru-mandira-olai-nāyagam,* before it is entered (*pugunda*); three other officers, one of them a *viḍaiyil adigāri,* order the entry of this in the *vari,* and then, six officers of the *uḍan-kūṭṭam,* twenty-eight of the *viḍaiyil,* and four of the *naḍuvirukkam* cause this to be done; nine superintendents (*kaṇ-kāṇi*) of the *puravu-vari tiṇaik-kaḷam,* one *varipottagam,* eleven *mugaveṭṭis,* three *variyilīḍus,* two *varippottagak-kaṇakkus,* and one *paṭṭōlai* attest the entry in the *vari* in token of their presence when the order was read out and entered in the proper register. We are not, of course, to imagine that every order required the presence of such a host of officials to be put through; the occasion recorded in this inscription was no doubt an exceptional one and there were a very large number of details to be settled and properly recorded. In fact this inscription is among the longest stone inscriptions in the world. But most of these offices, under the same or similar names, survived to the end of the reigns of Rājarāja III and Rājēndra III.

[87] ll. 49-52; 57-61; and 494.

[88] 182 of 1915.

With little assistance from contemporary literature in the elucidation of the public administration of the period, we are thrown almost entirely on the inscriptions themselves and the contexts in which the various terms cited above occur, in our attempt to interpret them. The term *naḍuvirukkai* literally means 'being in the middle' and as it is applied to the *vijñapti* (*vāyk-kēḷvi*) the petitioner, and the *āṇatti* the executive officer, it seems to carry with it the notion of liaison between the monarch and the persons who desired to lay matters before him for his consideration. There is no evidence to show that particular officers were specially told off for this purpose, with no other duties attaching to their offices; on the other hand, it seems more likely that highly placed officials, for one reason or another, espoused the cause of particular persons or groups that came seeking royal intercession, and consented to act as *naḍuvirukkai* in those specific cases. Likewise the execution of particular orders of the king was entrusted specially to particular officers selected for the purpose. The offices of the *ōlai*[89] seem to have been of a specialised character, and the organisation was carefully designed to minimise the possibilities of error in recording the orders. Thus the first draft of the order written by the *ōlai* officer[90] in immediate attendance on the king is scrutinised and approved by those of the *ōlai -nāyagam*,[91] that is by senior officers conversant with the proper official form and practice,

[89]Literally 'palm-leaf' on which records were written.

[90]Often called *tiru-mandira-ōlai*, clerk of the holy word.

[91]Also called *tiru-mandira-ōlai-nāyagam;* nāyagam means chief or superintendent.

the custodians of official tradition, corresponding to the permanent officials of a modern secretariat, who scrutinise each new proposal in the light of existing codes, rules and practice; then the *ōlai* becomes a *tīṭṭu* and affords the basis for further action, such as an entry in the permanent record books, or a communication to the local authorities concerned, or both. Such communications to local bodies were called *tirumugam* or *śrīmukham*,[92] and received by the addressees often with great ceremony; at any rate the official formula recording their receipt is highly formal and deferential. The Anbil plates for instance contain these picturesque phrases describing the occasion:[93] "Seeing the *śrīmukham*, we rose to welcome it, saluted it and placed it on our heads before taking and reading it." Among the permanent records, the *varip-pottagam* and the *varip-pottagak-kaṇakku* are to be carefully distinguished, and they formed the most important registers of the Revenue administration as their names indicate. This is, however, not to endorse what has so often been asserted of all oriental governments, that they are primarily tax-collecting agencies. All governments worth the name have to collect taxes in order to maintain themselves and the public activities in their charge ; and there is much evidence that the Cōḷa government was very mindful of its revenue. But the *varip-pottagam* was not a manual of extortion, but a carefully maintained record of land-rights, based on complete enquiries and accurate surveys, and kept up-to-date by fresh entries

[92] Also at times called *niyōgam* (83 of 1897).
[93] ll. 132-3. cf. Leyden—ll. 174-5. Tiruvālangāḍu, ll. 143-4. etc.

made from time to time by a set of well trained officials who were no strangers to the feelings of service tradition and loyalty to the king and state that actuate modern administrators. The *varippottagak-kaṇakku* was apparently a register corresponding to what we now call Demand-Collection-Balance statements, showing clearly the position relating to current receipts at any time.

The exact functions of the different grades of the officials named are not easy to define. The term '*puravu-vari-tiṇaik-kaḷam*' occurs in so many combinations that it is very essential to get as clear a notion of its content as possible. The term '*puravu*' has the meaning of 'cultivated land'.[94] '*Puravu-vari*', therefore, may be equated with 'land-tax'. The term '*puravu*' by itself is found used in the same sense in several inscriptions and includes obviously all payments due from lands in kind and in money.[95] In fact in these contexts the term closely resembles the modern revenue term 'assessment' as employed by the Indian land revenue officers. It may be suggested that in the expression *varippottagam* we must recognise a contraction of *puravu-varippottagam*, the second member of the compound word for land-revenue, *puravu-vari*, doing duty for the whole. If these interpretations are sound, the expression '*puravu-vari-tiṇaik-kaḷam*' would necessarily mean the Department of land-revenue, and all the combinations in which this phrase is introduced

[94] *Puṟam* 260, l. 9 and Index, s. v. Puravu.

[95] *SII*. iii, 142, ll. 29, 50, 57 and *EI*. xvii, pp. 5-6. Also *SII*. ii, p. 386, text l. 99; *EI*. iv, p. 224, text l. 19; *ARE*. 1920, II 4.

must be interpreted accordingly.[96] We see clearly that a distinction was maintained between the officers concerned with the maintenance of the records and those engaged in the local areas in the actual task of collecting revenue and carrying on the administration. The central office of control over the whole kingdom was also carefully distinguished from the local offices which were accountable to it, as for instance the officers in the Jayangoṇḍaśōḻamaṇḍalam mentioned in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates.[97] There are also mentioned in different connections a fair number of *kaṇkāṇis* or supervisors who were the agents of the central department of control and audit, maintained as a check on the officers of the various departments in each locality. An entry in the *varip-pottagam* was known as a *variyilīḍu*, and it is possible that only officers bearing the designation *varippottagam* and *variyilīḍu* could make fresh entries in the books; and to judge from the instances furnished by the copper-plate grants, this was a most elaborate process requiring a considerable measure of publicity at almost every stage of it. The

[96] The learned editors of the *SII.* have been very cautious in dealing with the numerous and obscure terms they have had to elucidate. The expression "*Puravu-vari-tiṇaik-kaḷattu varippottaga-nāyagam*" occurs in *SII.* ii, 88 and is rendered by Venkayya into: "the master of the rent-roll in the department (*tiṇaikkaḷam*) of taxes (levied from) endowments." He explains himself in a note by referring us to an inscription of Adhirājēndra (*SII.* iii, p. 116), in which the proceeds of *dēvadāna* villages made over to a temple are appropriated for the expenses of the temple by the officers of the *puravu-vari-tiṇaik-kaḷam*. It seems to me, however, that like their modern counterparts, the officers of the land-revenue department were entrusted with many other functions which, though not connected directly with the collection of revenue, they were in a position to discharge in the best manner and with the greatest economy of effort. I would translate the phrase in *SII.* ii, 88 into: "the master of the rent-roll in the department of land-revenue."

[97] ll. 120 ff.

mugaveṭṭi of apparently two ranks,[98] and the *paṭṭōlai* were also minor officers of the Land-Revenue Department,[99] of whose duties we have no precise knowledge. The suggestion that *mugaveṭṭi* is a contraction of *śrī-muga-veṭṭi,* and that it connotes the duty of writing or engraving, as the case may be, of royal letters, may well be true.[100]

The duties of Revenue officers included, then as now, many other spheres besides that indicated by their designations. They are often found regulating the receipts and expenditure of temples, or helping local authorities to do so.[101] They audit the accounts of temples and take steps for the prevention of embezzlement.[102] In one instance they are seen, as a department of the government, purchasing land after paying cash to a village assembly; the purpose of the purchase is not clear as the inscription is incomplete.[103] They attest public documents of importance drawn up by local authorities like village sabhās, embodying their resolutions such as exempting lands from payments of taxes and dues,[104] determining the status and obligations of particular groups of people[105] and so on. They seem to have been in the enjoyment of magisterial powers. In one instance they bound over to good behaviour the villagers of Kallūr who renounced some temple lands

[98] cf. *Kīḻmugaveṭṭi* in Tiruvālangāḍu plates, l. 60.
[99] *SII.* iii, p. 139.
[100] *SII.* iii, p. 301, *n.* 1.
[101] *SII.* iii, 57.
[102] 183 of 1915.
[103] 135 of 1926.
[104] 2 of 1927.
[105] 274 of 1910.

they had originally undertaken to cultivate, and were thereafter required not only to give up the lands but to undertake, on pain of being held guilty of treason, not to obstruct the cultivation of the lands renounced by them, nor to seek to re-establish their claim to them.[106] The inscriptions abound in extravagant oaths and asseverations; yet, it seems proper to infer, in this particular instance, the existence of a somewhat acrimonious dispute between the authorities of the temple of a neighbouring village and the residents of Kallūr. The temple owned some lands in Kallūr of which the cultivation was in the first instance entrusted to the people of that village; the Kallūr villagers suddenly threw up the land and pleaded inability to continue the cultivation and the periodical payment to the temple of the dues thereon. The bond entered into by them with the revenue officers closed the dispute, so far as we know. A *nāṭṭarasa* in the Mysore country conducts a trial for manslaughter.[107] It may be observed in passing that a revenue official, an accountant, is stated[108] to have received a deposit of money that belonged to a charitable endowment in the charge of the assembly of Maṇali and agreed to pay the annual interest on it at a prescribed rate. This he must have done in his private capacity; but, if that be so, the example is interesting in relation to the personal conduct of public servants.

In the inscriptions we come across the names of several other offices representing the central government in the districts. Of their functions we can as yet

[106] 630 of 1916.
[107] 497 of 1911.
[108] 142 of 1912.

form no accurate idea. We can only note their names such as: *śandu-vigraham*,[109] *mahāmātra*—ancient name,[110] *nāḍu (kōṭṭam) vagai*[111] and *nāṭṭuk-kaṇḍu kāṭci (śungamum karaiyum śeygiṟa)*. The creation of a caturvēdimangalam, a tax-free *brahmadēya* granted by the king to 108 Brahmins, in the twelfth year of Kulōttunga I, was first entered in the tax-register (*vari*) and then communicated to the *maṇḍala-mudaliyār* of Muḍigonda-śōḻa-maṇḍalam where the land so given away was situated.[112] A *nāḍu-kūṟu*, Āditta-śūḷāmaṇi Brahma-mārāyar, is mentioned in an inscription of about 1114 A.D. from Eṇṇāyiram;[113] possibly, his duties were connected with the revenue survey and settlement of the *nāḍu*.

Uḍan-kūṭṭam.

We have stated above that no clear evidence is forthcoming of the existence of a council of ministers or other officials regularly associated with the king in the central government of the realm. But the value of consultation and deliberation was emphasised in all ancient treatises on polity, and not even the most autocratic of monarchs felt himself free to throw away the wise counsels of able ministers. Some high officials of the state are described as of the *uḍan-kūṭṭam*, an expression meaning 'the group or assemblage (ever) at hand;' the term '*kūṭṭam*' is often applied to the executive bodies of rural assemblies in the phrase

[109] 2 of 1927.

[110] 539 of 1920; and 502 of 1911. cf. Woolner, *Asoka Text and Glossary*, p. 122, *Divākaram* II. 34; *Periya Purāṇam* Śiṟuttoṇḍa, vv. 2 and 3.

[111] 274 of 1910.

[112] *MAR*. 1917, pp. 42-4.

[113] 351 of 1917.

kūṭṭapperumakkaḷ. The idea of the *uḍan-kūṭṭam* then seems to be that of a body of executive officers in immediate attendance on the king. Some officers of this rank are named in a record[114] (from Tiruppāccūr) of the third year of Adhirājēndra; a few years earlier, six officers of the *uḍan-kūṭṭam* are mentioned in the Tirumukkūḍal inscription of the fifth year of Vīrarājēndradēva[115] (A.D. 1067). An inscription[116] of the thirtieth regnal year of Kulōttunga I mentions the land revenue department of the *uḍan-kūṭṭam* and thus raises the presumption that each department of the bureaucracy was represented in this group of officers in immediate attendance on the king. If this presumption is correct, the role of the *uḍan-kūṭṭam* must be held to be not so much that of a council, as of a staff of personal assistants who served as liaison officers between the monarch and the regular bureaucracy, explained the policy laid down by the king to the members of the departments carrying on their work in the mofussil, and conveyed to the king, as occasion required, the actual results, in the provinces, of the policies and measures of government. At the same time, it would have been open to the king to consult any official or group of officials on matters on which he felt the need of their advice. The important part played in the administration of the realm by this group, the nearest approach to a council of ministers that we have been able to trace, was well recognised by Pallavarāyar, the trusted minister, who

[114] 113 of 1930.
[115] 182 of 1915. This list is followed by the names of twenty-eight *viḍaiyil-adigārigaḷ.*
[116] 429 of 1916.

armed himself with the consent of the *uḍan-kūṭṭam* before he proceeded to instal Rājādhirāja II on the Cōḷa throne.[117]

As the head of the civil administration, the king himself occasionally toured the country and wherever necessary carried on inquests into the local administration. The royal camp was usually fixed in temples and mandapas in places where there were no palaces. The king is also found attending the periodical festivals in some of the bigger shrines such as Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Cidambaram, Tiruvārūr and Kāñcīpuram. We shall see that besides the taxes collected by the central government, several local bodies and corporations enjoyed the privilege of raising tolls and octroi duties and other miscellaneous dues. It would seem that the exercise of these privileges was subject to general supervision and control from the centre. There is an example of such regulation in a royal order of the time of Rājēndra II by which the right to raise such dues in the village of Vākkūr (Bāhūr) is made the monopoly of the Veḷḷāḷas who are said to have had the *kāṇi* of the place.[118]

Justice.

Justice, like legislation, was very largely a matter of local concern, and minor disputes were settled by one or other of the corporations to which the disputants belonged. The village assemblies exercised large powers in such matters and settled, sometimes by means of small

[117] 433 of 1924, cf. *ante*, p. 92.
[118] 180 of 1919. The expression used is '*Vākūr-pāṭṭam*'.

committees of *nyāyattār,* affairs that did not fall within the jurisdiction of the occupational or voluntary groups in the locality. The *dharmāsana* is mentioned in several inscriptions[119] as the place to which persons in charge of charitable endowments undertake to remit the fines due from them in cases of default. Though this is not quite certain, it seems most likely that the *dharmāsana* was the king's court of justice and that in deciding matters brought before it, the court was assisted by the presence of learned Brahmans versed in the law, the dharmāsana-bhaṭṭas as they are called in the inscriptions. On the nature of judicial records, if any, or the details of judicial procedure, we learn nothing from the inscriptions; and in our extremity, we have to turn to the story of a mythical trial preserved in a literary work, written most probably in the reign of Kulōttunga II.

Śēkkiḻār narrates at length how the Lord Śiva, out of his grace, saved Sundaramūrtti from falling into the miseries of family life by appearing before him as a Brahman on the eve of his marriage and claiming him as his bondslave. In his ignorance, Sundaramūrtti at first contests the claim; but the intrepid old Brahman insists on his claim being settled before Sundaramūrtti marries, and the dispute is taken before the law-court of Tiruveṇṇai-nallūr.[120] In the sabhā of learned Brahmans, the plaintiff's case (*muṟaippāḍu*) is first stated; an objection is raised by the judges that the plaint is in violation of usage which forbids a Brahman

[119] *SII.* iii, Index, s. v. *Dharmāsana.*

[120] *Taḍuttāṭkoṇḍa-purāṇam*—vv. 51-63. See also *JOR.* vi, pp. 83 ff.

being enslaved under any conditions; the plaintiff answers that a deed of perpetual bondage on behalf of himself and his descendants had been executed by the grandfather of the defendant, and asks indignantly whether it is a proper method of winning a case to tear up the evidence produced by the opposite side—a thing that Sundaramūrtti had done earlier in the proceedings before the parties reached the court-house; at this stage the judges express their approval of the old Brahman's arguments and require the defendant to state his plea; deeply agitated, Sundaramūrtti confesses to a feeling of utter amazement, appeals to the personal knowledge of the judges that he was an *ādiśaiva* of the village, and states that he feels too bewildered to find an answer to the preposterous claim of the plaintiff; the judges then turn to the plaintiff and require him to prove the unusual claim put forward by him by one of three methods, usage (*āṭci*), documents (*āvaṇam*), or the testimony of eyewitnesses (*ayalār-tangaḷ-kāṭci*) ; the plaintiff now avers that the document destroyed by the defendant was only a copy, and that the original deed was still with him and that he would produce it, if its safety was guaranteed by the court; the original deed is then produced, the *karaṇattān* takes charge of the document which is in the form of a roll, unrolls it and reads it out; the apparent age of the document, its contents, the signatures of witnesses which are scrutinised and found to be regular, and a comparison with another document from the record office[121] known to have been written in

[121]The text is very explicit about the record room: Maruṇḍadu-teḷiya maṟṟa maṟaiyavaneḻuttāl*ōlai-yaraṇ-ḍaru-kāppil* vēṟonṟaḻaittuḍan-oppu nōkki.

the hand of Sundaramūrtti's grandfather establish the genuineness of the deed by which he is seen to have pledged himself and his descendants to eternal slavery to the Pittan (Śiva) of Tiruveṇṇai-nallūr, and this concludes the investigation. The judges at once pronounce judgement that Nambi Ārūran had lost his case to the Brahman sage, and that he was in fact the slave of the plaintiff. What followed need not be pursued here.

Judicial procedure could not have changed very much between the time say of Rājarāja I and that of Kulōttunga II when Śēkkiḻār composed his great Purāṇa. In this *purāṇa* indeed Śēkkiḻār aimed at producing literature which should please and entertain the contemporary Cōḷa monarch better than the vulgar works of heretical Jains. Though he was handling ancient themes, therefore, it is proper to assume that in enlarging upon the holy lives of the Śaiva saints, from the meagre outlines preserved by his predecessors, Śēkkiḻār drew upon his intimate knowledge of contemporary life to lend colour and verisimilitude to his narration. The trial scene summarised above may, therefore, be treated as a fair specimen of the daily occurrences in the numberless villages of the Cōḷa kingdom. It is remarkable how little the presence of the super-natural is allowed to intrude into the account of the trial, and how much of the trial is borne out by inscriptions known to us. The village assembly acting as a judicial body, the dominance of senior and learned Brahmans in the proceedings on such occasions, and

the role of the *karaṇattān* are quite in keeping with what we learn on these subjects from other sources. The procedure adopted is on the whole simple and apparently not governed by any fixed rules. The disputants state their own cases,—there is no trace of any employment of advocates,—and the emotion or certitude with which they present their pleas has its effect on the mind of the judges. There is no hard and fast rule that every statement of a relevant fact in the case must be established in the course of the proceedings and the judges are expected to use their personal knowledge of facts relevant to the case before them. The three lines of evidence by which facts which are challenged may be established, the tests employed to ascertain the trustworthiness of a document, the only evidence produced in this trial, clearly represent contemporary practice. The hint that we get, incidentally, that the village had access to a well-guarded record-room where documents ranging over a period of several years were carefully preserved may appear incredible but for the emphasis laid on records of another type in the inscriptions to which attention has been drawn before. The result of the trial seems to be that an express document can override custom however well established, and no reasons of public policy could stop the enforcement of a specific agreement however opposed to public opinion and accepted morality. But we must not press this inference as, in the story, the conclusion of the trial is just rendered tolerable by the immediate revelation of the Divine element in it; for the judges, strangely as it

seems to us, after delivering judgement, want the plaintiff who has won the suit as a resident of the village,—he is described as Pittan (Śiva) of Tiruveṇṇainallūr,—to show them his house and estate, and then the god leads them towards the temple, suddenly disappears, and soon after informs Sundaramūrtti of the reason for his miraculous intervention to stop his marriage. We may assume that in a real trial this question of the residence of the plaintiff would, if necessary, have been raised much earlier, and that an agreement in such flagrant violation of prevalent morality would not have been so readily enforced.

The distinction between civil and criminal offences was unknown; there are few instances where we can trace the conception of crime as a public wrong; one of them[122] is the case of two persons who stole the images, ornaments, etc. belonging to a temple and were punished by the confiscation of all their properties, which were sold publicly, the proceeds being remitted to the king's treasury. This was about A.D. 1222. Speaking generally all offences including those committed by village officials, were tried in the first instance in village courts; in cases of dissatisfaction the matter was taken up to the officer of the king's government in charge of the administration of the *nāḍu*. Seldom, if at all, did an appeal go further than that. There was a great deal of rough natural justice dispensed through extra-judicial channels. The sharp definiteness and uniformity that characterise modern methods of justice

[122] 308 of 1927.

were unknown, and in every case, whatever the authority enquiring into a dispute, an effort was made to convince both parties that the standard of ideal justice which would satisfy reasonable men had been attained in the award. The prevalent notions about this standard were no doubt largely influenced by the *smṛtis,* and by local practice.

Sometimes disputes especially over civil rights were allowed to drag on without a settlement until time offered a solution. The *sabhā* of Śrīkaṇṭha-caturvēdi-mangalam and the *ūr* of Tiruveṟumbiyūr had a boundary dispute of rather long standing; and the solution was found ultimately by a local chieftain buying up the rights of both the parties in the disputed area paying prices that satisfied them both, and then handing over the land to the local temple as an endowment for the maintenance of persons singing sacred hymns to the accompaniment of specified musical instruments.[123]

That theft, adultery and forgery were considered serious offences is seen from the list of persons declared unfit for service on the village committees of Uttaramērūr.[124] In this list of exclusions are mentioned also persons who had ridden upon donkeys, and possibly this was the form of punishment for some offences. Considering that most offences appear to have been punished only by fines, and that even manslaughter and murder[125] were often punished only by

[123] 129 of 1914.
[124] 1 of 1898.
[125] Accidents in hunting parties are too numerous to mention. Hunting on horse-back is mentioned in 273 of 1919, (Kulōttunga I, 43rd yr.). Death caused in a duel, and as the result of an attempt to outrage a concubine, is similarly punished—109 of 1895; 77 of 1906.

the offender being required to maintain a perpetual lamp burning in the nearest temple, the code must be held to have erred on the side of leniency.) In one instance, when a *nāḍāḷvān* stabbed to death a commander of a regiment of bowmen, the king, Rājēndra II, sent an order to the local village assembly that the culprit was to be required to endow 96 sheep for a lamp in the neighbouring temple.[126] In another, a woman committed suicide, being unable to stand the pain or the shame of an ordeal to which she was subjected by a village official for the recovery of dues which she said she was not liable for; the man is let off with a fine of 32 *kāśus* imposed by a meeting of the people from "the four quarters, eighteen districts and various countries."[127] In yet another, when one soldier killed another, he came to an agreement with the relatives of the deceased and endowed a lamp in the temple at Karuttaṭṭānguḍi, near Tanjore,[128]—an instance of private commutation for murder. In a solitary example from the Mysore country, assault and murder leads to the award of capital punishment by the *nāṭṭarāja* of Hulimadda.[129] In a case of homicide due to an accident in the reign of Kulōttunga II, the judge expressly stated that the guilty man need not die for his offence[130]—a recognition of the fact that homicide may be punished with death. In another similar instance, some years later in the same reign, a *veḷḷāla* was the offender; the

[126] 227 of 1904.
[127] 80 of 1906.
[128] 48 of 1897.
[129] 497 of 1911.
[130] 64 of 1900.

case came up before an officer of the king's government, he consulted the *bhaṭṭas,* and they advised him that death sentence should not be meted out to a *veḷḷāḷa.*[131] There is recorded an interesting case of vicarious punishment, about 1091[132] in the reign of Kulōttunga I. A boy of six, while cutting wood with his sickle (*arivāḷ*), hurt another lad of seven, who died in consequence of the injury; the father was required to endow half-a-lamp in expiation of the boy's offence. Another case of what appears like a penance, rather than punishment following an enquiry, comes from the reign of Kulōttunga III; two men found a buffalo grazing amidst their crops in the fields; they belaboured the animal so severely that it died in consequence; they consulted the *bhaṭṭas* and were advised to endow a half-lamp in the neighbouring temple, and did so.[133] Another record of the same reign, from Kīḻaiyūr (Tanjore), gives an instance of two persons who were a public nuisance and a source of trouble to Brahmins, *veḷḷāḷas* and the temple; they were tried for rioting (*kalaham*) and incendiarism and together fined 1000 *kāśus;* no one helped them to pay the fine, and their lands were sold to the temple for 1060 *kāśus,* the extra amount of 60 *kāśus* being treated as penalty for default in the payment of the fine. The inscription mentions incidentally a royal order of a general nature that in similar cases of rioting, incendiarism and so on, the amount of the fine may go up to 20,000 *kāśus.*[133] In the sixteenth year of Kulōttunga III, A.D. 1194, a case of misappropriation

[131] 200 of 1929.
[132] 223 of 1902.
[133] 110 of 1919. 80 of 1925.

of temple property, *śivadrōha,* is punished by the confiscation of the estate of the offender, the proceeds being handed over to the temple that had suffered by the offence.[134]

Offences against the person of the king or his close relations were a class apart, and dealt with by the king himself. Attention has been drawn to the order of Rājarāja I requiring the confiscation of the properties of persons involved in the murder of his elder brother Āditya II.[135] A similar procedure is adopted against another person for default in payment of fines imposed on him,—the original offence is not recorded,—and his properties were sold in *ājñākrayam,* "Sale by (royal) order."[136] Another example of unspecified offences against the king being severely dealt with by heavy fines collected by harsh processes is the case of the Kōliyak-kuḍaiyār (?) of Kuhūr.[137] These three instances are all from the reign of Rājarāja I. Instances of *rājadrōham* became rather numerous towards the end, in the reign of Rājarāja III.[138]

Cattle-lifting was a common offence in several parts of the kingdom and was not easy to control. The gift of Mangalam (Salem Dt.) as a *dēvadāna* was accompanied by a proclamation that the property of those who stole the cattle from this *dēvadāna* or otherwise caused any injury to the village would be

[134]189 of 1929; *ARE.* 1929, II 37.
[135]577 of 1920, *ante* ch. viii.
[136]379 of 1922.
[137]277 of 1917.
[138]*Ante* p. 187.

forfeited to the temple,—a somewhat drastic declaration equalled only by the wide terms of some clauses in the emergency laws of modern states.) Acts of mischief against cattle, one of the chief forms of wealth in those days, from robbers and by means of regular cattle-raids in the open are recorded in numerous inscriptions from the Pudukkottah, North Arcot and Mysore areas.[139] Another source of danger to cattle was from wild animals, and a vigorous relief sculpture on a rock at Kīḻ-muttugūr (N. Arcot) commemorates the heroism of a man who felled a tiger on the spot.[140] Such stray instances are bound always to occur; and their fewness on the whole strengthens the impression that during this period internal peace was very successfully maintained. But the times were rough, and people had none of the sentimental squeamishness about physical pain and suffering that marks our outlook on life to-day.

(Chau Ju-kua, the Chinese writer of the early thirteenth century, who has so often been cited above, has this to say on the Cōḷa system of justice:[141] "When any one among the people is guilty of an offence, one of the Court Ministers punishes him; if the offence is light, the culprit is tied to a wooden frame and given fifty, seventy, or up to an hundred blows with a stick. Heinous crimes are punished with decapitation or by being trampled to death by an elephant.")

[139] 315 of 1904; 104 of 1900; 168, 169, 186 of 1921 and others.
[140] 2 of 1896; *EI.* iv, p. 179.
[141] p. 95.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The rôle of the Village.

In the life of our day, the town has begun to replace the village as the characteristic unit. In a physical sense Indian life is still largely led in the villages; but ideas generated in the town, and propagated through the town-made newspaper and an urban system of education, are rapidly changing the rural outlook, and few who have come into contact with these new forces are able to fit themselves into village life as it is or to resist the temptation to migrate to the nearest town.

Until very recently, however, village life engrossed the attention of the richest as well as the most cultured Indians in their daily concerns. The bulk of such persons had their residence in the villages, and exercised a dominant influence in the conduct of their affairs. The encomiums bestowed on the ancient village-republics of India by the observant British Indian administrators of the early nineteenth century, though we may not accept them as literally true, are clear proof that, until then, the village continued to be the real centre of social life and the principal nursery of social virtues. And from the hundreds of Cōḷa inscriptions that have come down to us, we see that under the Cōḷas the villages of Southern India were full of vigour and strength.

(The beginnings of the system of village government that we see in full swing under the Cōḷas must be

sought in an earlier age. The Pāṇḍya and Pallava inscriptions of the eighth and early ninth centuries show a system, very similar, but not quite so developed, in operation throughout the Tamil country. For our purposes, it is enough to observe that an important inscription from Mānūr[1] in the Tinnevelly district of about A.D. 800 anticipates in several respects the better known inscriptions of the time of Parāntaka I from Uttaramērūr in the Chingleput district. The life and functioning of rural institutions, the ultimate cells that sustained national existence, were clearly little affected by dynastic wars and the shiftings of political power at the top.

Village. Assemblies.

Government by means of primary assemblies comprising the adult males of each village was the central feature of rural organisation. Besides these assemblies, there were in existence many other groups and corporations of a social, religious or economic character, each interested in looking after some definite local institution or function. The relation between these groups which are found in almost every village and the village assembly itself is not easily expressed in terms of modern political thought. The village assemblies and the groups alike derived their authority from ancient custom and ideal right (Dharma); the moral support of public approval of their conduct in particular instances was in either case the primary sanction underlying their daily activity; in the last resort they could both

[1] *EI.* xxii, pp. 5-11.

appeal to the king's government for support in so far as their behaviour conformed to the accepted code of moral conduct. What was right in each case depended on the circumstances, and on the application to them of enlightened reason informed by the principles of the law-codes (Smṛti) and precedents, if any. Precisely in the determination of such casuistical points did the learned Bhaṭṭas of the time render the highest service to society. For to the extent to which their findings were impartial and convincing, and not warped by prejudice or corruption, to that extent was social harmony promoted and the foundations of orderly and peaceful development strengthened. That the system survived intact till the beginning of the last century must lead us to infer that this delicate and onerous work was on the whole well done by those to whom it was entrusted. The village assemblies and the groups were then more or less legally on the same footing in their relations to government and society. But they, in fact or even in theory, were not of equal importance to the life of the nation. The village assembly had the widest range of functions in relation to its locality, whereas the groups were each limited in the range of their operation to some specific purpose or other, such as the maintenance of a single temple, or the regulation of a single trade. The village assembly had a general interest in everything that these groups did, and in many things besides that none of them attempted. Even in matters that fell specifically within the competence of a particular group, the assembly had a concurrent jurisdiction to which any

one could appeal, if the group concerned was in default. The groups, as long as they did their work well, relieved the assembly of that work; the ultimate responsibility for local welfare, however, lay on the assembly. The members of the groups were also members of the assembly, and this fact must have considerably influenced their relations *inter se.* While the groups represented particular interests that might occasionally clash, the assembly looked after the general interest and, as a dispenser of justice, helped in adjusting rival claims to the satisfaction of all parties. Perhaps the nearest analogy to this complex of relations may be found in the pluralist view of the relation between the State and the groups, with this difference, that the relation here was among local bodies and groups functioning in limited areas and not over the entire national field. The national state, represented by the King's government, enveloped and sustained the villages and the groups together.

Groups.

Before discussing the types of village assemblies and their working, the leading examples of the more limited groups may be briefly noticed.) In speaking of these groups and of the village assemblies themselves as corporations, we are to understand, not that there was in existence any formal system of incorporation by which groups attained a particular legal status, but simply that they, in fact, acted like individuals, buying and selling, suing and being sued in their group capacity. They recognised also that the continuity of their life as corporations was

independent of their changing personnel.[2] He who runs may read from the inscriptions that this was the universal rule. It was simply assumed that there was no difference in these respects between an individual and a group of persons banded together for a common purpose and well known as such in the neighbourhood. Such groups were organised for all sorts of purposes. Some were economic like the mercantile groups of Vaḷañjīyar, and the Maṇigrāmam, often named after the locality of their domicile;—Vaḷañjīyar of Tiruppuṟambiyam,[3] Maṇigrāmam of Ādittapura[4] are examples. These mercantile groups will come up for more detailed consideration in another connection. There were other groups, more numerous, organised on the basis of religion. The *mūlaparuḍaiyār* of different localities were clearly in direct charge of temples. In Sucīndram, this body was functioning under the control of the local Mahāsabhā (assembly) from the time of Parāntaka I to that of Rājarāja I; subsequently they threw up the management of the temple and restored it to the Mahāsabhā; and having done this, they dissolved themselves.[5] We see here a body, constituted for a specific purpose, going out of existence when it is no longer able to function properly; and its duties thenceforth devolve on the Mahāsabhā. The Mūla-

[2] *Studies*, pp. 101, 129; 67 of 1898.

[3] 71 of 1897.

[4] 33 of 1895.

[5] 82 of 1896. 85 of 1896. *TAS*. ii, p. 7. The dissolution of the body is a legitimate inference from l. 14, which lays down punishment only for the members of the *Paruḍai* going back on their agreement individually and not in their collective capacity.

paruḍaiyār of Tiruk-kuḍa-mūkkil are stated to be in-charge of the affairs of the temple of Tirunāgēśvaram.[6] The priests attached to temples organised themselves into groups with many picturesque names. The generic name for these priestly groups of Śaivas was Śivabrāhmaṇas; those of Vaiṣṇavas were called Vaikhānasas. Among the specific names of particular groups, the following may be given as examples: Aga-nāḷigai-Śiva-brāhmaṇar;[7] pati-pāda-mūlattar,[8] tiruvuṇṇāḷigaik-kaṇap-perumakkaḷ,[9] tiru-vuṇṇāḷigai-sabhai.[10] The Pan-māhēśvarar and the Śrīvaiṣṇavas whose protection is invoked at the end of almost every inscription recording a gift to the temples were the congregations of these sects, sometimes said to be spread over eighteen districts (*viṣayam* or *nāḍu*) which are nowhere named.[11] Śātta-gaṇam, Kumāra-gaṇam, Kṛṣṇa-gaṇam, Kāḷi-gaṇam and other such groups were in the position of managers and trustees of single shrines from which they took their names. The pēriḷamaiyār, and the śankarappāḍiyār[12] were other

[6]214 of 1911.
[7]629 of 1916.
[8]39 of 1895; 117 of 1910.
[9]120 of 1902.
[10]145 of 1900; 239 of 1902.
[11]640 of 1905; 519 of 1922.

[12]Krishna Sastri suggests that Śankarappāḍi was a general name applied to the quarters in which the Śaivas of a town lived. (*SII.* iii, p. 275, n. 1). It should be noted, however, that in almost all known instances, the Śankarappāḍiyār have duties connected with the maintenance of lamps and in particular the supply of oil—547 of 1920, 80 of 1897, 78 of 1898, etc. Two records imply moreover that they were a corporation of oil-mongers; in his second year, Kulōttunga I ordered that 25 families of Śankarappāḍi should be settled in Tiruvālangāḍu (NA.), in a new settlement called Rājēndra-Śōḻappāḍi and made responsible for the supply of oil for 15 lamps (*SII.* iii, 65); an inscription from Achyutamangalam (Tj.) contains the expression: *śekku onṟukku Śankarappāḍiyār pēr panniraṇḍu āga.* (395 of 1925).

bodies connected with temples though their duties are obscure. There are other names of groups related to temples, but they need not be reproduced. There are also instances of local groups within a village, and professional groups. The villages were often divided into *śēris,* streets or quarters, and the people of each *śēri* formed a group for certain purposes. Uttama Cōḷa appointed the people of two *śēris* of Kāñcīpuram to take charge of the Ūragam temple and manage its affairs.[13] The *śēris* of Uttaramērūr formed the basis of representation on the executive committees of the village assembly in the constitution agreed to in the twelfth year of Parāntaka I.[14] An inscription of A.D. 1103[15] from Peṇṇāḍam mentions the *sabhās* of the *śēris* of Muḍigoṇḍa-śōḷa-caturvēdi-mangalam, and in another instance the *śēris* appear to have been represented on the panel of members for drafting resolutions of the assembly.[16] Examples of professional groups are the *kalanais* of Īḷas, carpenters, goldsmiths, ironsmiths, and washermen in Talaiccangāḍu (Tanjore),[17] and the Manṟāḍik-kalanai (shepherds?) in other places.[18] Some of these groups apparently ranked below others and were designated, accordingly, *kīḻk-kalanaigaḷ.*[19]

[13] Madras Museum plates. *SII.* iii, p. 269, ll. 3-6, and 112-3.

[14] 2 of 1898.

[15] 238 of 1929.

[16] *SII.* iii, p. 177, *contra* Hultzsch.

[17] 198 of 1925.

[18] 597 and 620 of 1920.

[19] 118 of 1888.

In 1077, at Cēbrōlu,[20] an endowment of some lamps in the local temple was placed under the permanent protection of the Sthānapati, and the three hundred *ayyalu* and the three hundred *sānulu* of the place. At Kāmarasavalli, a body called the Seven-hundred-and-fifty took charge in 1096[21] of an endowment which involved the periodical collection of specified contributions and the maintenance, with the proceeds, of the worship and specified festivals in the temple. The 'cittiramēḻip-periya-nāḍu of the seventy-nine nāḍus' act as judges in a case of accidental homicide during a hunting party at Jambai in the third year of Kulōttunga II.[22] The Araiyar of the locality undertake the protection of a charitable endowment in Kunnāṇḍārkōyil (Pudukkottah) in the second year of Rājarāja II.[23] The *bhaṭṭar, periya-nāṭṭār* and *pannāṭṭār* prescribe the *prāyaścitta,* penance or expiation, for an accidental homicide at Olakkūr (South Arcot) in the fourth regnal year of Rājādhirāja II,[24]—a function which was performed some years later by the *pannāṭṭār* alone at Vēlūr in the same region.[25] In the nineteenth year of Kulōttunga III, the periya-nāṭṭu-viṣayattar of twelve *nāḍus* gave some land as *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* to a temple in Nellore.[26] In

[20] 151 of 1897.

[21] 73 of 1914.

[22] 67 of 1906. The 'eḻubattonbadu nāṭṭōm' supervise the engraving on stone of a decision of the *nāḍu* and *nagara* of Uṭṭattūr-nāḍu in 1199. (521 of 1912).

[23] 372 of 1914.

[24] 352 of 1909.

[25] 106 of 1919. Also 77 of 1900.

[26] 197 of 1894.

the same year a body called *dēvadāna-nāṭṭavar* present a petition to Kulōttunga III at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr regarding the condition of a *dēvadāna* village.[27] In the twentieth year of Kulōttunga III, the *sthānattār* of the temple, the Rudra-māhēśvaras, and the four families who acted as guardians of the temple (*innāyanār kāppārāna nālu kuḍyilōm*) accepted an endowment from a *dēvaraḍiyāḷ* of the temple of Tirumaṇañjēri-uḍaiya-nāyanār.[28] Twelve years later, the authorities of the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkōyilūr recovered from a certain Araṭṭamukkidāsan ten cows entrusted to his grandfather many years before; evidently the terms of the original endowment had suffered neglect.[29] The māhēśvaras were present with the sabhā of Tirunaṟaiyūr and the *nāḍu* of Kulōttungaśōḻa-pēriḷamai-nāḍu, when they enquired into and adjudged a case of longstanding misappropriation of the live stock belonging to a temple.[30] This was in 1218. At Muniyūr in the Tanjore district, a high official of the central government, the *niyāyattār* of the town, the executive committee (of the *ūr*) comprising nine persons and the trustees of the temple (*tānattār*) co-operated in engraving on the temple walls the title deeds of the temple relating to its *iṟaiyili* lands, as the deeds were in danger of being lost by decay.[31] The māhēśvaras of Tirukkaḷar, Tanjore district, decided in 1234 that

[27] 368 of 1911.
[28] Pd. 152.
[29] 327 of 1921, which may be of the reign of Kulōttunga I.
[30] 543 of 1921.
[31] 610 of 1902.

descendants in the female line could be held responsible for the performance of duties undertaken by their ancestors in accordance with the terms of a charitable endowment, and that they should continue to pay interest on money invested with the family.[32] These instances illustrate the variety of local corporations and the wide range of their interests and activities. We are not yet in a position, however, to determine the composition and mutual relations of these bodies as closely as may be desired.

Group relations.

Social life was dominated by these innumerable groups, and the individual did not lack opportunities for self-expression. By birth, residence and occupation, and sometimes by choice, he was a member of one or more of these corporate bodies, each devoted to a specific local purpose. Mutual adjustment among these groups was largely a matter of goodwill. We do not come across many instances of intercession by government or by private parties for the regulation of group-relations. And there is no evidence in the works of the jurists that speculation on this fascinating aspect of jurisprudence ever advanced far in India. If these groups had acted in the spirit of enforcing their rights strictly and straining them to their utmost limits, the relations among them would easily have become too complicated to be settled without the aid of an intricate and nicely thought out system of positive law. The groups were there all over the land for several generations; but they

[32] *SII.* iii, 210.

did not give rise to any attempt at a precise definition of their rights and relations. Much must have been left to the play of goodwill on all sides.

Types of Assemblies.

Of the village assemblies proper, we notice two types distinguished by the names *Ūr* and *Sabhā*. A third kind of local assembly was the *Nagaram* confined to mercantile towns. All of them were primary assemblies of the residents of the localities concerned, and, generally speaking, regulated all their common concerns. They were subject to general supervision, in particular a periodical audit of their financial transactions, by the officials of the king's government. Otherwise, they were left to themselves. When important business was transacted by these assemblies, such as a change in their constitutional procedure or an alteration of land-rights affecting the revenues of government, their meetings were attended by the officers of the central government.[33] How much their presence influenced the proceedings it is not easy to determine. In some places, large temples were regularly managed by officials who also attended the meetings of the assembly, where the affairs of the temple came up for consideration.[34] Important matters were sometimes taken up to the king for his decision; two inscriptions of the reign of Kulōttunga I from Tribhuvani show him regulating the enjoyment of a *Kāṇi* and laying down a scheme for the promotion of areca plantations at Tribhuvani.[35]

[33] 1 and 2 of 1898; 692 of 1904; 335 of 1917; 178 of 1919; 348 of 1917.
[34] 152 and 154 of 1895.
[35] 206, 201 of 1919.

Ūr.

The *Ūr* was the simplest type of these assemblies. This word means 'village' or 'town'; it is employed also in the sense of the assembly of the ūr; this becomes clear from the phrase '*ūrāy-iśainda-ūrōm*,' meaning 'residents of the village met as ūr,' which occurs in some records; and from the ūr ordering, like the sabhā, the drafting and engraving of records by its agents.[36] The ūr functioned in several places alongside of the sabhā,[37] acting by itself or jointly with the sabhā according as the business on hand required. On the other hand, the ūr was the only assembly in other places.

Sabhā.

The *Sabhā* constitutes the type of which we get the most detailed accounts in the inscriptions. It is invariably an assembly associated with the Brahmin village,—the Caturvēdi-mangalam. Many of these *agrahāras* or *mangalams* were created by royal grants. Faith in the unique merit of the gift of land (*bhū-dāna*) was very common and frequently acted on by those who could afford it. Thus it came about that new colonies of pious and learned Brahmins were settled in the different parts of the country and gained control of local affairs through the *Sabhā* and its executive.

[36] Pd. 20, 59; 279 of 1903, and 285 of 1906.

[37] e.g. Tiruveṟumbūr, (112 and 123 of 1914); Tiraimūr (201 and 216 of 1907); Śevalai (362 of 1902); Uttaramērūr (89 of 1898) and so on. The assumption has been made that in the *ūr* and *nagaram* "all the conditions pertaining to membership in the Brahmanical sabhās prevailed, except perhaps the knowledge of the Vedas." *ARE.* 1913, II, 23. There is no evidence to support this.

The *Sabhā* and the *Ūr* co-existed in places where a new settlement of Brahmins was superimposed on a more ancient community by the constitution of a *mangalam*. In almost every place, the advent of the new class of settlers must have been welcomed for many reasons. Often the land had to be purchased from its previous owners, individuals or communities, before being made over by the king or the noble to the donees who were to form the new *mangalam*, and this resulted in a rise in land-values; at any rate, it put the members of the *ūr* in possession of much cash that they could put to good use. If the land sold had been common property, as it sometimes was, the proceeds were used in financing projects of public utility. Then the coming in of a group of persons, conspicuous for their learning and character, benefited the people by bringing them into touch with the best and highest culture available at the time, and giving them a class of natural leaders to whom they could turn for advice and guidance in their difficulties. The common people continued to meet as the *ūr* and carry on their affairs as before; the newcomers formed themselves into a *sabhā* of the usual type. Such, in outline, is the course of affairs one is led to postulate from the inscriptions of the period.

Their relation.

Sometimes one village was organised as two ūr-assemblies for similar reasons. About A.D. 1227, the village of Śāttamangalam had two assemblies, one of them made up of the residents of the Hindu *dēvadāna* part of the village, and the other of persons in the

Jaina *Paḷḷiccandam;* both assemblies were called *ūr* and they co-operated in setting apart some of the village land for a tank and flower-garden, and making the land tax-free, by themselves undertaking to pay the taxes and dues thereon.[38] Similarly we find the constitution of a double-ūr in two other villages, Kumaramangalam and Amaṇkuḍi in Urattūr-kūṟṟam in the modern Pudukkottah state, about A.D. 1245.[39]

Constitution and working of Ūr.

Of the exact composition of the *ūr* we have no direct knowledge. From the general expression employed *ūrōm,* we must infer that the meeting was attended by all the residents of the *ūr,* though the leading part in the deliberations would have been taken by the elders. The *ūr* had an executive body called '*āḷunganam*' 'the ruling group', a term which is sometimes shortened into '*gaṇam*', or expanded into '*mī-yāḷun-gaṇam*'.[40] The numerical strength of this executive and the manner of its appointment are not known. We also find the term '*ūr-āḷvārgaḷ*' which is doubtless another way of describing the '*āḷungaṇam*'.[41] Some of the sabhās also appear to have had this form of a simple executive which was responsible to them for all matters;[42] for we find the names of Bhaṭṭas (learned Brahmins) among the members of some of the *gaṇams.* Another explanation

[38] 466 of 1912.
[39] Pd. 198.
[40] 3 and 58 of 1898.
[41] 40 of 1895.
[42] *SII.* iii, 1; 237 of 1915; 234 of 1929.

may, however, be offered for this feature; the *bhaṭṭas* who were members of the *āḷunganam* might have, in fact, been members the executive of the *ūr*. In other words, they might have formed part of the original village and continued to do so, even after the constitution of a *mangalam* with its *sabhā* in the same place.

An inscription of A.D. 1220 from Muniyūr[43] mentions the *taṇḍal* and *niyāyattār* of the *ūr* besides nine persons whose names are preceded by the phrase: *ūrkkuc-camaindapaḍi*, which may signify either that they represented the general assembly of the *ūr* on the particular occasion or that they formed the executive of the ūr-assembly for the time being.

and of Sabhā.

As a rule the *Sabhā* had a more complex machinery of local administration and functioned very largely through its committees called the *'Vāriyams'*. The exact meaning of 'Vāriyam', perhaps a Tamil word, is somewhat obscure; a connection with 'Vāri', 'income' in Tamil, 'rigorous demand' in Kanarese,[44] may be suggested. It is equally possible that *vāriyam* is a Tamilised Sanskrit word, *vārya*, meaning 'selected' or 'chosen'; in fact one inscription employs the expressions *'varaṇam śeydal'* for the act of choosing, and *'varaṇam'* for the executive body of the sabhā.[45] And the term *'vāriyar'* denotes persons employed by

The Vāriyam.

[43] 610 of 1902.

[44] Kittel, s. v. vāri. 133 of 1914 (Rājak. 5) has the expression: *ivvāṇḍu śrī-kōyil vāri śeyginṟa sabhai-vāriyar.*

[45] 113 of 1928.

the *Sabhā* in specified duties. When the *Mūlaparuḍai* of Sucīndrum ceased to manage the local temple, the *sabhā* appointed two *vāriyar* to do this work on their behalf. And the Pāṇḍya inscription at Mānūr, to which reference has already been made, lays down that no kind of '*vāriyam*' was to be entrusted to persons who did not possess certain qualifications. The early history of the *vāriyam* is very obscure. But enough evidence remains to show that the systematic employment of committees for executive work in rural administration was the result of a fairly long period of experiment, trial and error. In the earlier stages such work may have been done by individuals or very small groups. What looks very much like an *ad hoc vāriyam* for a specified temporary purpose is mentioned in an inscription from Śrīnivāsanallūr;[40] its precise date cannot be determined as the ruling king is described in it only by the title Rājakēsari, but there is little doubt that it is an early Cōḷa inscription. (This *vāriyam* is appointed, not by the territorial *sabhā*, but by the *mūlaparuḍai* of Mahēndramangalam in charge of the local temple; and the duty entrusted to the *vāriyam* was to describe authoritatively and record the extent of the *iṟaiyili dēvadāna* lands of the temple.) There must have been several other instances of similar special *vāriyams* appointed for specific purposes. Whether the experience gathered from such experiments led to the growth and spread of the system of *vāriyams* in local administration, or whether the machinery of committees

[40]596 of 1904: *vārigam vaittu vaikkappaṭṭa vārigarum kaṇakkum irundu.*

evolved by the *sabhā* in its active working was adapted by the other corporations, cannot now be decided. A *nila-vāriyan* of Tirukkaḍaiyūr is mentioned as late as 1194, and he was doubtless an official under the *sabhā*.[47] The members of the executive committees of the *sabhās* were generally called '*vāriyapperumakkaḷ*'.[48]

The number and descriptions of the 'Vāriyams' differed in different sabhās, as also the method of their appointment. The best known example of the constitution of such *vāriyams* is that of the *sabhā* of Uttaramērūr, a village still flourishing under that very name in the Chingleput district and preserving many interesting vestiges of its past glory. The large irrigation tank within a couple of miles to the west of the neatly planned village is doubtless the celebrated Vairamēgha-taṭāka of the Pallava and Cōḷa inscriptions in Uttaramērūr, a tank which occupied much of the attention of the *sabhā* in those days and was placed under the management of a special Tank-committee (the *ēri-vāriyam*). In the twelfth year of Parāntaka I,[49] A.D. 919, the *sabhā* adopted a resolution fixing the method of appointment to its executive committees, of which five were named. This resolution (*vyavasthā*) was taken in the presence

Uttaramērūr.

[47] 43 of 1906.

[48] '*Perumakkaḷ*' literally means 'Great men'.

[49] *ASI*. 1905; *Studies*—ch. vi. 176 of 1930 furnishes another example from the reign of Parāntaka I of the *sabhā* of Ninṟavūr emphasising the importance of the *kuḍumbu* (ward) in the conduct of the affairs of the *sabhā*. It lays down that each *kuḍumbu* was to be represented in all discussions by two persons who had not taken such part in discussions before (*paṇḍu manṟāḍi aṟiyādār*). For other provisions of the record relating to revenue affairs, salary of *madhyastha* and so on, see *ARE*. 1930, II, 16.

of the official of the king's government specially deputed for the purpose by a royal order (*śrī-mukham*). The central object of the arrangement adopted was to secure on the committees a fair representation not only for the thirty *kuḍumbus* (wards) into which the whole village was divided, but for the twelve *śēris* (streets) into which the wards were grouped. The actual method of selection was by lot (*kuḍa-vōlai*);[50] but selection was confined to those who were duly nominated by the *kuḍumbus* according to rules which laid down certain conditions which had to be satisfied by every person before he became eligible for such nomination. The attempt to combine the representation on the committees of the *kuḍumbu* and of the *śēri* did not work, and as the result of the breakdown that followed, another effort was made, two years later, to reform the method of election to the committees. The *śēri* was allowed to fall into the background, and the direct representation of the *kuḍumbus* on the committees became the only aim. But the occasion of the revision was used to clarify other doubtful questions that had cropped up in the interval, and to make more detailed and specific regulations for the nominations by the *kuḍumbus*. This revision of the constitution was also carried out in the presence of a king's official and recorded in the form of a *vyavasthā* of the sabhā. The very next year, the fifteenth of

[50] Bits of palm-leaf on which were written the names of eligible persons were thrown into a narrow-mouthed pot and well shaken in the presence of the whole assembly; and a child was asked to take out one after another as many of the bits as were required for the purpose of the constitution of the committees.

Parāntaka I (A.D. 922) the *sabhā* appointed another[51] committee for assaying gold for all people in the village; this was not a new *vāriyam*; it was a committee of eight persons chosen by lot from among citizens who paid taxes, were residents in particular quarters of the village, and had made a name for assaying gold. This committee was perhaps intended to assist the *pon-vāriyam* (gold-committee) of the *sabhā* in the performance of their work.

Other Sabhās.

Of the constitution and working of no other *sabhā* do we have such detailed knowledge as of that of Uttaramērūr. By their references to the *vāriyams* in other places, however, the inscriptions lead us to suppose that the method of entrusting details of executive work to committees was generally followed by the other *sabhās*, when they found such details too much for a single executive committee. The work was honorary, no payment for it being suggested in any of the records, and no one could be expected to give more than a part of his time and energy for such work; the division of labour among a number of committees, the number being varied from time to time, was the most natural device to adopt, and so it was adopted.[52] Two inscriptions from Tennēri of the eleventh year of Rājarāja I, A.D. 996, show the gradual spread from one place to another of these expedients of rural administration. One of these inscriptions records a resolution of the *sabhā* of Uttamaśōḷa-

[51] 12 of 1898.
[52] *ARE*. 1905, II, 7.

Caturvēdi-mangalam that only members learned in the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa were eligible for service on the *vāriyam* and for drafting the resolutions of the assembly,[53] and that any one who contravened their resolution should be liable to the same punishment as those who disobeyed the king's orders (*tiruvāṇai-maṟuttār-paḍum daṇḍam*). Less than two months after the date of this resolution, the same *sabhā* took another resolution calculated to exclude from the privileges of serving on the *vāriyam* and drafting the resolutions of the assembly, persons who had been found guilty of theft of a Brahmin's property and other offences of a more serious nature (*mēl-paḍu-kuṟṟam*). The simple and piecemeal nature of these resolutions, and their dates, are proof, if proof were required, of the uneven pace kept by the numerous *sabhās* in the development of their constitution and administrative practice. And no official of the king's government attended the sessions of the *sabhā* of Uttama-śōḻa Caturvēdi-mangalam when these resolutions were taken. In fact the *sabhās* were left largely to themselves, and each *sabhā* was free to make the arrangements that best suited its own peculiar conditions. No fewer than nine *vāriyams* are enumerated, for instance, as having been set up by the *sabhā* of Amani-nārāyaṇa Caturvēdi-mangalam in the third year of Pārthivēndravarman;[54] while only four

[53] 240 and 241 of 1922. The phrase "*Sabhā-māṟṟañ-jollavum*" cannot simply mean 'speak in the *sabhā*'. The inscriptions often say that they are recorded to the dictation (*śolla*) of some person who is generally a Bhaṭṭa; and I think "Sabhā-māṟṟañ-jollu" has reference to this process of dictating for record the conclusions reached by the sabhā. The simple form '*māṟṟam*' occurs in 60 of 1926.

[54] *SII*. iii, 156, ll. 1-3.

vāriyams are mentioned in a record of A.D. 919 from Tiruppāṟkaḍal.[55]

There are not wanting, on the other hand, instances in which the king's government interfered to regulate the constitutional arrangements prevailing in the *sabhās*. They belong generally to the late Cōḷa period. Even in these instances, it is possible, though by no means clear, that the initiative was taken by the *sabhās* themselves, and that the terms of the constitutional settlement reported to the king by his officials and sanctioned by him were based on resolutions taken by the assemblies concerned. The inscriptions, however, contain only the record of the sanction accorded by the monarch to proposals placed before him by his own officials. An inscription from Talaināyar (Tanjore district), dated the 73rd day of the seventh regnal year of Kulōttunga III,[56] takes the form of a letter addressed to the sabhā of Kulōttunga-śōḷan-tani-nāyaka-caturvēdi-mangalam and the *taṇḍuvān* (collector) of the village. The letter contains rules for the election of the executive body (*kūṭṭam*) of the assembly[57] sanctioned by the king at the instance of two officials, Brahmēndra and Vāṇādhirāja, written out by the *tirumandira-ōlai* and attested by nine others with titles ending in *rāya* or *rāja*, also no doubt officials of the central government. The rules laid down were the following: from the seventh regnal year, only those were

[55] *SII*. iii, 99.
[56] 148 of 1927. *ARE*. 1927, II, 28.
[57] For *kūṭṭam* (executive) of other assemblies see: 581 of 1907, 527 of 1918, 231 of 1925.

to be elected to the *kūṭṭam* who had not been in the *kūṭṭam* for ten years preceding the year in which the election took place; the candidates must also be Brahmins above forty years of age, learned (*vidvān*) and impartial (*samar*); the relatives of those who had served on the *kūṭṭam* during the five years before and the five years after the seventh regnal year were also to be held ineligible for the *kūṭṭam*. The king also ordered that all Brahmins who were guilty of wicked deeds (*vinaik-kēḍu*) by defaulting the land revenue (*kaḍamai*) and oppressing docile Brahmins and respectable tenants, accepting bribes (*kaikkūli*) and so on, were to be fined in proportion to their offences, irrespective of whether they had served on the *kūṭṭam* or not. This last clause, together with the requirement of impartiality in the candidates for election under the new rules, warrants the supposition that local administration in Talaināyar had suffered by the growth of faction and violence for some time before the reform recorded in this inscription. Another instance of the royal sanction of a local constitution is dated five years later, A.D. 1190, and comes from Ayyampēṭṭai.[58] At the instance of Nuḷambādarāya, the king ordered that the executive (*varaṇam*) of the *sabhā* of Rājēndra-śōḷa-caturvēdi-mangalam were to be chosen from among those who had not served on it before and were not less than forty years of age.

[58] 113, 120 of 1928—the two numbers being apparently duplicates of the same record.

(Lest it should be thought that village assemblies as a rule lost their initiative and passed under the control of the central government in the late Cōḷa period, it may be noted that the *mahāsabhā* of Kāmadavalli-caturvēdimangalam resolved in A.D. 1232 to adhere to an earlier decision of theirs to constitute their executive (*grāmakāryam*) from among those who agreed to serve on the basis of a yearly tenure;[59] and there is no evidence of any reference to the central government on either occasion. Likewise, the *mahāsabhā* of Śembiyanmahādēvi resolved of their own accord not to hold meetings of the executive at night for purposes of local administration (grāma-kāryam) and for considering revenue affairs (kaḍamaik-kāriyam), as nocturnal meetings resulted in inefficient work (*upahati*) and extra expenditure of oil for lamps. They fixed the day from which the new arrangement came into force. They also resolved not to reappoint any person to the executive (*kūṭṭam*) within five years after one term of office.[60] The inscription is dated in the seventeenth year of Rājarāja III. The distinction made here between grāma-kāryam, local affairs, and kaḍamaik-kāriyam, revenue business, deserves to be particularly noted. Though this distinction is not expressly found in other records, we are justified in assuming that it was observed universally by all the village assemblies which had definite responsibilities both towards the locality concerned and towards the central government.)

[59] 92 of 1914—*Munbu paṇṇina vyavasthaip-paḍiyē-samvatsara-vāraṇam-āga āmenṟāraik-koṇḍu grāma-kāryāñ-jeyyak-kaḍavōm-āga.*
[60] 500 of 1925.

There is lastly an inscription[60a] of the thirteenth year of the reign of Rājarāja III from Śēṅganūr (Tanjore district) which is of unusual importance to the study of local institutions in the late Cōḷa period. It is a record of constitutional and other arrangements relating to the assembly of the village (the *Mahāsabhā*). The interesting point here is that these arrangements are decreed by the *mūlaparuṣai* of the temple of Viśvēśvaradēva: *Viśvēśvaradēvar kōyil mūlaparuṣaiyār kūṭṭanguraivaṟak-kūḍi irundu grāma-kāriyam vyavasthai paṇṇina paḍi*, a clear statement that the *mūlaparuṣai* (*mūla-pariṣat*) of the temple framed the regulations that follow in the inscription for the conduct of the affairs of the village. It is not clear why the *Mahāsabhā* (mentioned further on in the record), instead of following the usual rule of itself regulating its own affairs, left the decision of important issues to the *mūlaparuṣai*; we may surmise, however, from the trend of the record as a whole that the *Mahāsabhā* was unable to reach satisfactory decisions on account of sharp differences, and felt the need for laying the whole matter before some external authority for arbitration. If this view is correct, it is not without significance that the *Mahāsabhā* sought the assistance of another local authority, rather than of the king's government; it may be that by the end of the reign of Rājarāja III, the central government, having lost its efficiency, failed to command the confidence of the people. In fact, one of the rules made on this occasion shows that in this period the officials of the king's

[60a] 89 of 1932; *ARE*. 1932.

government (*mudaligaḷ*) even disturbed the smooth working of local institutions by their intrigues with particular factions.

The rules that follow are reasoned statements of the decisions reached, and we see that the *mūlaparuṣai* were fully alive to the extraordinary and difficult nature of their task on this occasion. The first resolution relates to the constitution of the executive administration (kūṭṭam) of the village: there was an immemorial practice (*anādiyāga vyavasthai*) that, when the executive of the village was chosen (*nammūrk-kūṭṭam iḍum iḍattu*), those who had once served could serve again only in the fifth year thereafter, their sons only in the fourth year and their brothers in the third, and this ancient practice was to be maintained; only those who were not less than forty years of age were to be chosen; the *kūṭṭam* should be chosen after obtaining the consent, 'as our ancestors did' (*pūrvapuruṣāgaḷ śeydapaḍik-kīḍāga*), of the villagers assembled as the *ūr;* any persons who got in by fraud (*uḷvari,* lit. disguise) with the support of the officials (*mudaligaḷ*) of government or in violation of these rules, would be deemed to be traitors to the village, all their properties being confiscated; the *kūṭṭam* was to be chosen every time for one year (*samvatsara-varaṇam*); any persons that stayed on longer (*mēṟpaḍi ninṟār*) would also be considered *grāmadrōhis* and punished as above. The appeal to the *mos majorum,* the stress laid on the consent of the *ūr*, the protest against undue influence by the *mudaligaḷ* and the deterrant punishment laid down

against attempts to capture the executive by improper methods or to prolong the period of office beyond the proper term, are all features of the resolution that deserve to be noted. Let us observe this also: how the choice of the executive was actually made, we are not told; nor do we hear of how the consent of the *ūr* was expressed; obviously our record does not tell the whole story, but sets down only the decisions on a few points that had come under discussion, the rest being a matter of common knowledge at the time.

The rest of the *vyavasthā* relates to matters of revenue and financial administration. When collecting the *kaḍamai* and *kuḍimai* (general revenue) dues of the village and the *sabhāviniyōgam* (local cesses), the members of the *kūṭṭam* should collect only the legitimate dues (*prāptam*) and not anything in excess thereof; the *sabhāviniyōgam* was not to be mixed up with the *kuḍimai,* but collected separately, and expended in accordance with written orders separately communicated to the accountant (*kaṇakkaṇukku-nyōgam eḻudik-koḍuttu*); if the expenditure on any single item (*oru poruḷukku*) exceeded 2000 *kāśus,* the written sanction of the *Mahāsabhā* had to be obtained before the expenditure was incurred; if any expenditure was incurred otherwise than in accordance with these rules or any excess collection (of taxes and dues) was made, a fine of five times the amount involved was to be collected, which together with the proceeds of penal assessment on persons who had arrears of revenue (they had to pay double the original assessment) went into the coffers of the sabhā (*sabhāviniyōgam*). Lastly, the accountant of the village and the officers of the

vāriyam and the *kuḍumbu* were to change annually and carry out the orders lawfully issued to them—*āṇḍu māṟi niyōgappaḍi niṟkak-kaḍavadāgavum.* We have no means of ascertaining the exact rôle of the *vāriyam* and the *kuḍumbu* in this village and our knowledge of the actual working of these institutions here, as elsewhere, must remain imperfect.

The *sabhā, mahāsabhā,* and the corresponding Tamil words, *kuṟi* and *perun-guṟi,* refer to the same institution, which is sometimes even called *perunguṟi-mahāsabhai.* Its members are collectively referred to as *perumakkaḷ,* and the honorific term '*tiruvaḍiyār*' is also employed in some inscriptions. The *sabhā* usually held its meetings in the temples and *maṇḍapas* of the village, and the term Brahma-sthāna[61] appears to indicate the fixed meeting place of the *sabhā* wherever there was one. Sometimes it met outside the village on the banks of a tank or under a tree; this was certainly not due to the lack of a more sheltered place for the meeting. Some examples of such meetings are best accounted for by assuming that the inauspicious nature of the business transacted required that it should be done beyond the living quarters of the village.[62] The *sabhā* was usually summoned by the beating of a drum (*śāṟṟi*); the meeting was also proclaimed by sound of bugle (*kāḷam*) or a double bugle (*iraṭṭaik-kālam*).[63] Meetings were also held at nights when required.

[61] 30 of 1894; 241 of 1922.

[62] 260 of 1915, also 332 of 1910. *ARE.* 1910, II. 21; 640 of 1919. *Studies*, p. 94.

[63] 553 of 1921; 85 of 1896; 72 of 1914; 103 of 1897.

Nagaram.

The *Nagaram* was another type of local assembly, not so much in evidence, however, as the *Ūr* and the *Sabhā*. The same term is sometimes employed to designate occupational groups like Śāliyanagarattōm.[64] But when the *Nagaram* of places like Śivapuri,[65] Tiruppaḷanam[66] Parakēsaripuram,[67] and Takkōlam,[68] and the Mā-nagaram of Kāñcī[69] are in question, we are clearly dealing with territorial assemblies which, by their status and functions, had much in common with the *Sabhā* and the *Ūr*. In some places like Tillaisthānam,[70] the *Nagaram* and the *Ūr* seem to have carried on their duties side by side.

The *Nagaram* was in all probability a primary assembly of merchants, which was organised as one of the local assemblies in important trade centres and was the only assembly in places where the mercantile interests overshadowed all the rest.

Nāḍu.

Territorial assemblies representing the *nāḍu* were also in existence and discharged important duties, particularly in regard to land revenue administration. '*Nāḍu*' like *ūr* generally means a territorial division, and the corporate character of '*nāḍu*' in some of the contexts in the epigraphs is

[64] 268 of 1921, also mentions *Viyāpāri-nagarattōm*.
[65] 243 of 1894.
[66] 165 of 1928.
[67] 66 of 1895.
[68] 6 of 1897.
[69] 76 of 1921.
[70] 40 of 1895.

brought home to us by expressions like "*nāḍāy-iśainda nāṭṭōm*", "residents of the *nāḍu* met (formed) as *nāḍu*".[71] These corporations endow charities in their own names,[72] and take charge of charitable endowments.[73] In the fifteenth year of a Parakēsari, a certain Kaṇḍan Maṟavan, the feudatory of the Cōḷa monarch, issued an order to the *nāṭṭār* of Kunṟakkūṟṟam.[74] This order stated that the chief had decided to make a gift of some land as *kāṇi* to a certain person subject to a fixed annual payment of 25 *pon* for all time as the land tax on it; on no future occasion, when a general revision of assessment was made, was this land to be put in a class which would raise the dues from it to more than the sum of 25 *pon* then fixed; the *nāṭṭār* were requested by the chieftain to give effect to these conditions, and they accordingly handed over the land to the person named and undertook not to enhance the tax due from the land in any future assessment. The part assigned by this inscription to the *nāṭṭār* in the classification of the lands and the periodical assessment of land revenue, and the permanent settlement of the assessment on some land are all noteworthy features of the land-revenue administration of the time. The order of Rājarāja on the gift of the village Ānaimangalam to the Buddhist shrine in Negapatam was addressed among others to the *nāṭṭār* of the Paṭṭinakkūṟṟam. No direct evidence on the constitution of these assemblies of the *nāḍu* is forthcoming; an analysis of the signatures

[71] Pd. 38.
[72] 217 of 1926; 411 of 1912; Pd. 85.
[73] Pd. 36.
[74] 356 of 1924.

affixed to the Leyden grant (of Ānaimangalam) is, however, very instructive in this connection. The grant is signed first by the officer of the *puravu-vari* who was present with the *nāṭṭār* when they marked the boundary of the village by getting an elephant to beat the bounds, then by the man who rode the elephant on the occasion, then by the accountants of twenty-seven villages, including Ānaimangalam, in the Paṭṭinakkūṟṟam, and lastly by the *bhaṭṭas* who guided the whole transaction. The accountants sign on behalf of the *sabhā* or the *ūr* of their villages and in accordance with their instructions. One wonders if the assembly of the *nāḍu* was constituted by the representatives of each of the villages in it coming together, the accountants being present among them.

In the tenth year of Kulōttunga I,[75] *the nāṭṭār* of Puṟamalai-nāḍu are seen appointing a *pūjāri* (priest to conduct the worship) in the temple at Tīrthamalai in the Salem district. The *nāḍu* of Vaḍa-panangāḍu in Pudukkōṭṭah resolved in A.D. 1149 to levy a fine of one *mā* of arable land to be assigned to the temple for any injury caused by *ambanavar* (?) to arable land or on the highways in and near Nal-vayalūr.[76] An inscription from Jambai dated in the reign of a Karikāla-Cōḷadēva[77] assigns an important part to the *nāḍu* of Vāṇagappāḍi in the conduct of the affairs of the temple of Vāḷaiyūr-nakkar-yōgavāṇar; the donor, a chieftain

[75] 676 of 1905.
[76] 373 of 1914 (Pd. 186).
[77] 109 of 1906.

of Bāṇa extraction, states that his ancestors had assigned to the temple the village of Raṇabhīma-mangalam; he then increases the endowment and the scale of expenses, and entrusts the proper observance of the new scale to the *nāḍu*. It is also of interest to note that under the general supervision of the *nāḍu*, the details of the management were carried on by one single village chosen by lot (*kuḍavōlai*) for each year—a provision which emphasises the relation between the assembly of the *nāḍu* and the village-assemblies suggested by the Leyden grant of a much earlier time. Another inscription of the late Cōḷa period from Kāñcīpuram,[78] records what is apparently an approval by Madhurāntaka Pottappiccōḷa, the Telugu-Cōḍa king of the time, of a resolution of the *nāḍavar* of Jayangoṇḍa-śōḷamaṇḍalam remitting six *kalams* of paddy from the *kaḍamai* due on each *vēli* of land that was *tirappu*, or *dēvadāna*, *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam*, *paḷḷic-candam*, *agarappaṟṟu*, *maḍappuṟam*, *jīvitappaṟṟu*, *paḍaippaṟṟu* and *vanniyappaṟṟu*. This enumeration of the types of holdings is apparently meant to be exhaustive and to include all the productive lands in the *nāḍu*; the instance before us is therefore one of a general revenue-remission initiated by the *nāḍu* and approved by the ruler of the locality, clear proof of the vitality of the assembly of the *nāḍu* even so late as the thirteenth century. The *nāṭṭavar* are also found often co-operating with other corporations and with

[78]556 of 1919.

individual officials in the administration of justice and in other matters.[79]

The *nagaram* and *nāḍu* of the Tamil inscriptions are, in their names, if nothing else, the exact counterparts of the *paura* and *jānapada* respectively of Sanskrit literature. Whether the village assemblies called Ūr and Sabhā in Southern India were known to the Sanskritic writers on Indian polity, and whether the assemblies must be taken to have been included under the generic term *jānapada*, are questions not easily decided at present.

Procedure.

The procedure that was followed in the conduct of business at the meetings of the various bodies so far mentioned is not described in any of the inscriptions. Even the method employed in the choice of the executive of the assemblies remains unknown to us except in the case of Uttaramērūr. Regarding the executive bodies of other villages, we learn something of their qualifications and tenure of office, but nothing of the actual mode of their appointment. We must assume that membership in the general assembly was unrestricted and open to all the residents of the village; the inscriptions sometimes state expressly that the meeting was fully attended, everybody young and old being present.[79a] There is no evidence that the idea of a quorum was known; but definite methods of summoning meetings and giving

[79] Co-operation with Śambuvarāyar in the reign of Kulōttunga II—64 of 1900.

[79a] 62 of 1898; *Studies*, p. 121.

notice of them were prescribed, and the expression often employed, *kūṭṭakkuṟaivaṟa-kūḍi irundu,*[79b] indicates that importance was attached to the presence of all the members of the executive for the time being. There is also no evidence that votes were taken; as each question came up, there must have been a general discussion in which the leading men took part in accordance with their social status, and if the matter was one affecting any class in particular, the representatives of that class had every chance of explaining their point of view; the final decision was reached by common agreement. Rules were sometimes made, as in the Mānūr assembly, against factious opposition and attempts to hold up business by obstructionism; obviously the enforcement of such rules depended on the support of public opinion. The procedure at meetings seems on the whole to have been rudimentary, and the assemblies had, but for their executives, hardly outgrown the stage of folk-gatherings.

Co-operation among assemblies.

These local assemblies often co-operated with one another and with other corporations in pursuance of common objects. The *sabhā* of Tiraimūr, the *nagaram* and the *dēvakanmis* of a temple in Tiruviḍaimarudūr were together responsible for the proper management of the temple and when they transacted its business, they met in the theatre (*nāṭakaśālā*) of the temple.[80] The emoluments of the servants of another temple at Tiruvāmāttūr were fixed at a common meeting of the

[79b] *SII.* iii, 77.
[80] 199 of 1907; 154 of 1895.

sabhā of the place, the ūr, the Śivabrāhmaṇas, the Rudragaṇa who sang sacred hymns before god, and the servants of the temple including the *uvaccar*.[81] The presence at the meeting of the servants whose emoluments were being fixed implies that this was not done without some regard for their wishes in the matter, a typical instance of the elastic and humane character of the economic arrangements of the time. Again the priests of a temple at Polonnaruva and other servants on its establishment are, together with the *nāṭṭavar* of the division,[82] placed in charge of a cash endowment for a lamp. There is one instance on record of the *sabhās* of two neighbouring villages coalescing and agreeing that the two villages should thenceforth count as one.[83] This happened in the reign of Parāntaka I, A.D. 933, and constitutes a measure of the freedom enjoyed by these local bodies. The union of villages was the result of their voluntary choice and was effected without any direct reference to the central government. The grant of *brahmadēya* or *dēvadāna* in its execution involved the co-operation of many organised groups. A typical instance is the grant of Paḷaiyanūr, which is put through by the nāṭṭār of Paḷaiyanūr-nāḍu with the assistance of the elders[84] of *brahmadēya* villages, the *ūrgaḷilār* of all *ūrs* including *dēvadāna*,

[81] 18 of 1922. The *uvaccar* are pipers and drummers who play on their musical instruments during the services in temple.

[82] 594 of 1912. See also 28 of 1919 for another such instance from Markāṇam.

[83] *EI*. iii, pp. 145, 147; (*SII*. ii, p. 370).

[84] The text is '*Kiḻavar*', rendered into 'headmen' by Krishna Sastri. See also 39 of 1895 for *brahmadēyak-kiḻavar*.

paḷḷiccandam, kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu, veṭṭippēṟu and old *aṟaccālābhōga* and the *nagarams*.[85] This enumeration of co-operating local authorities is of interest in two ways: it mentions some special tenures by which land was held; these will be discussed elsewhere. And it shows clearly that the assembly of the *nāḍu* (*nāṭṭār*) was a body distinct from the assemblies of the villages (*ūrgaḷ*) and towns (*nagarangaḷ*). Unlike the Leyden grant which is addressed to local groups in more or less the same terms and is signed by the representatives of all villages and towns in the *nāḍu*, this grant, from Tiruvālangāḍu, is attested only by the villages whose land rights were affected by the gift, besides the officials of the revenue department. Except for this difference in detail the two grants remarkably confirm each other, and imply that the assembly of the *nāḍu* was made up of representatives from the assemblies of all the villages and towns in the division.[86] Instances are not wanting of a number of such assemblies of the nāḍu co-operating for some common purpose.[87]

Local Govern-ment.

Local adminisrtation was thus carried on by means of primary assemblies in the villages and towns, and representative assemblies in the larger divisions. The *sabhā*, the *ūr* and the *nagaram* were of the nature of

[85] *SII*. iii, p. 402, ll. 2-5; see also *EI*. xv. Anbil plates, l. 124; *SII*. iii, 142, ll. 4-8; Leyden grant, l. 113.

[86] See p. 296 *ante*.

[87] 103 of 1921.

folk meetings in which every one who had a stake in the locality was entitled to be present. This becomes evident from the manner of summoning these meetings, which was by a general proclamation, by beat of drum or other suitable means, of the time and place of the meeting. The formula is often employed in describing these meetings that they were quite fully attended; the young and the old having assembled together after due notice of the meeting had been given. There is not a single instance on record of a decision having been reached by the method of voting; and it does not seem likely. The political spirit of the time, such as it was, aimed at securing the harmony of classes, rather than their equality. A healthy society based on a general distribution of small properties, which was free from the glaring economic oppression of one class by another, had no particular use for the ideals of modern democracy. Social life was dominated by groups rooted in ancient custom and ideal right, and was subtly suffused with emotions of a quasi-religious nature. All that was demanded in such an atmosphere was an opportunity to watch the course of affairs, and to raise a protest if anything went wrong, or to press a point of view that was being overlooked. This was furnished by the periodical meetings of the assemblies and the groups; but the leadership in such gatherings remained with those naturally fit for it. Age, learning, and wealth, in addition to birth, furnished the most obvious qualifications for such leadership; official standing and public benefactions were other claims to the consideration and homage of the average man.

Local taxation.

That the villages were little ' republics ' which had a large measure of autonomy in the management of their own affairs is seen from the powers of taxation for local purposes, and of granting exemptions from such taxes and dues, enjoyed by their assemblies, and from the separate administrative staff, comprising doubtless only a few officials, employed and controlled by them. Of their power of taxation for local purposes, an idea may be formed from the instances in which the assemblies grant remissions and assignments of dues without any reference to the king's government and in the exercise of their own powers. In the second year of a Rājakēsari, the *sabhā* of Nālūr[88] assigned, in perpetuity, to the local temple to which they owed some money, the proceeds of a local cess on shops (*angāḍik-kūli*) in lieu of the interest on the loan. The *nagarattār* of Kumara-māttāṇḍapuram[89] made over their annual income from *vārā-vaigal*,—a cess of which the nature is not clear,—towards a fund for maintaining a Jaina shrine in good repair. At Tiruveṟumbūr, the *sabhā* of Śrīkaṇṭha-caturvēdimangalam resolved that no dues of any kind should be levied on the properties of the temple on their account from the date of the resolution;[90] they got on another occasion a lump sum payment from a person as they wanted cash for digging a tank, and in consideration thereof assigned to him the right

[88] 321 of 1910.

[89] 222 of 1911.

[90] 133 of 1914; 105 of 1914.

exercised till then by the assembly of collecting paddy at a certain rate from the cultivators of the village. The *ūr* of Uḷḷiyūr obtained a number of exemptions in perpetuity on behalf of a temple in their hamlet, and these were pronounced by the sabhā of Uttaramērūr who granted them to be free from the interference of all extraneous powers.[91] In these and many other instances of a similar nature, the village assemblies were clearly disposing of rights that were exclusively vested in them and that they were free to utilise in any manner calculated to advance the social good of the little community whose affairs they managed. These assignments and remissions of the taxes and dues collected by themselves should not be confused with another class of tax remissions for which the village assemblies became responsible. In the latter class of cases, in lieu of a lump sum payment made in advance to it, the assembly undertakes to pay all dues to the local and central governments on particular plots of land for all time. The lump sum in these instances was the capitalised value of the annual dues chargeable to the land, and was generally called *iṟai-dravyam* or *iṟai-kāval*.[92] Possibly the term *pūravācāram*[93] which occurs in some inscriptions in a similar context has the same meaning. Such advance payment in a lump sum of future taxes was due to two general causes. First, persons who endowed charities by setting apart land, often desired to secure for such land freedom from all dues

[91] 41 of 1898.
[92] 100 of 1892.
[93] 14 of 1898.

and imposts, and the common way of doing this was to pay their capitalised value to the assembly of the village where the land was located, making them responsible for all future payments. Secondly, the assemblies, on their own initiative, often raised money in this manner for immediate capital expenditure for public purposes, which could not be financed otherwise. The *sabhā* of *Śirrānaiccūr*, a *brahmadēya*, for instance, owed a considerable sum of money to a person whose properties became forfeited to the king for reasons not stated; when the *sabha* was called upon to remit the amount to the king's treasury, they had to borrow the sum from the local temple and undertake to pay the taxes on some temple lands.[94]

Local Executive.

The responsibility for the details of local administration was, as pointed out before, vested in small executive committees appointed by the general assembly, and service on such committees was honorary. There was a small staff of paid servants in each village to assist these executive committees and maintain the records of the village. These village officials were called *madhyasthas*, a term often rendered into 'arbitrators';[95] the word does indeed mean 'arbitrators', but it is difficult to admit that this is its meaning in the Cōḷa inscriptions, or that the duties of the *madhyasthas* employed by the assemblies included the task of arbitrating among disputants. Perhaps the term

[94] 105 of 1925.

[95] *SII.* iii, index s. v. *Madhyasthar*.

was applied to village officers in order to emphasise their neutral position in all matters of rural politics. They attended the meetings of the assembly and assisted in the conduct of the proceedings, but took no part in the deliberations. Their duties and remuneration were fixed by the assembly at its discretion. In A.D. 923, for instance, the *sabhā* of Aiñjaṣṭasam resolved that their *madhyasthas* employed in writing up the accounts connected with the tank (*ēri*) were to be remunerated at the rate of four measures (*nāḻis*) of paddy per diem, and were to receive in addition seven *kaḻañju* of 'red gold' per annum with a pair of cloths each; that each of them had, at the end of his year of office, to produce accounts and pass through the ordeal of red-hot iron (*maḻu*); that those who were declared pure after the ordeal should receive a bonus of a small amount of gold, and that those that failed in the ordeal should pay a fine of ten *kaḻañjus* of gold, the reason for the heavy fine being that the corpus of the tank-fund (*ēri-mudal*) was not of sufficient size; and that no corporal punishment (*śarīradaṇḍam*) was to be resorted to by the *sabhā* in such cases.[96] Generally it was a *madhyastha* that recorded the resolutions of the assemblies to the dictation of one or more of the prominent members present and taking part in the preceding discussions. Another class of officers was called '*karaṇattār*', the exact duties in which each was engaged being indicated by phrases like *Karai-kaḻukkuk-kaṇ-kāṇik-kaṇakku*,[97] the accountant who was

[96] 226 of 1915.
[97] 30 of 1919.

supervising the boundaries (of lands?). In A.D. 1235, an accountant was dismissed by a *sabhā*, and his descendants and relatives declared unfit to hold the office again.[98] An inscription of uncertain date from Mannārkōyil in the Tinnevelly district mentions the *madhyastha*, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the goldsmith and the village-pariah as the persons on whom the representatives of the central government depended for demarcating the boundaries of a village, Vindanūr, given away as *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam*.[99] A curious inscription[100] from Tribhuvani (Pondicherry) dated in the forty-third regnal year of Kulōttunga I, A.D. 1113, contains a provision that the artisans and professional men should pursue their crafts and professions within the precincts of the village, and that such of them as served the residents of other villages would be deemed to have been guilty of a grave offence against the law. This is an interesting example of rural protectionism; but we have no reason to believe that it was universal, or even common. On the other hand, the occasions for service outside one's own village or town could not have been very frequent. An inscription from Tirumāṇikuḷi (SA.) records the endowment of a *śandiviḷakku* by an *ūrp-paṟaiyan* in A.D. 1221.[101]

Functions of assemblies.

The functions of the assemblies had a wide range. They were as a rule entrusted with the direct charge or, at least, the supervision of all charitable endowments in the

[98] 583 of 1904.
[99] 400 of 1916.
[100] 205 of 1919.
[101] 167 of 1902.

village. To judge from the number and provenance of the inscriptions recording such gifts, in no place was this source of public benefaction a negligible item, and in several villages it was in itself sufficiently important to warrant the creation of a separate committee (*dharma-vāriyam*) for its administration.[102] Statistics are of modern origin, and it is no easy thing to venture on quantitative statements relating to a distant past; but the student of Cōḷa institutions often wonders whether for local well-being, the gifts of the rich did not mean more in that period than the taxes levied and collected from the residents of a locality by its assembly. However that may be, the assemblies were not slow to address themselves to the task of enriching local life by additions to its amenities, social and cultural. For one thing, they took good care to preserve the records of older charities and to see that their terms were carried out by the parties concerned.[103] Altered economic conditions sometimes led to a revision of the original terms, but a genuine effort was made not to allow any of the numerous perpetual endowments to fall into desuetude. Most of these centred round the village temple which, from somewhat obscure religious origins, had grown by the time of the Cōḷas to dominate every aspect of rural life all over the country. The role of the temple in the secular life of its neighbourhood can hardly be exaggerated, and the temple and its affairs were among the chief pre-occupations of the local assemblies; and the temples, and sometimes individual shrines in them, had

[102] *SII.* iii, 6.
[103] 199 of 1907; 92 of 1895.

separate groups who were in charge of their management; but these authorities were subject to the double control of the local assemblies who exercised a general supervision and of the officer of the king who audited the accounts. The temple was the centre of all the institutions for popular culture and amusement. A detailed account of these institutions is given elsewhere. Here the part of the village assemblies in their upkeep may be briefly noticed. The assemblies often set apart land for the maintenance of persons who expounded, in the halls of the temples, the national epics of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, and the *purāṇas;* such land was called Bhāratap-pangu (share for Bhārata),[104] and was usually made tax-free. Music and dancing, and theatrical presentations of popular tales and legends, formed part of the ordinary routine of the temple, and received special attention on festive occasions; and *Nāṭakaśālās* were specially constructed for these purposes.[105] There were recitations of sacred hymns in Tamil and in Sanskrit in the course of the daily worship in the temples, and the assemblies sometimes gave shares from the common lands of the village for the maintenance of these services. Schools of higher learning were attached to temples and so were hospitals. The assemblies were found endowing or assisting in the endowment of particular subjects like Mīmāmsā of the Prābhākara school,[106] Vēdānta,[107] Vyākaraṇa,[108]

[104] 63 of 1897; 48 and 50 of 1923. *Pangu* often gives place to *puṟam* or *vṛtti*.

[105] 199 of 1907; 157 of 1905; 398 of 1921. 152 of 1925; 253, 254 of 1914.

[106] 233 of 1911; 333 of 1923.

[107] 276 of 1925.

[108] 18 of 1898; 202 of 1912.

Bhaviṣya,[109] Taittirīya,[110] Vājasanēya,[111] and so on. In the foundation of hospitals and the maintenance of physicians attached to them the assemblies actively assisted and co-operated with the donor.[112] They also aided persons who desired to put up rest-houses (*ambalam*) and provide for the supply of drinking water in them.[113] Agrarian rights and tenures, and irrigation of land, of which an account is given elsewhere, were among the most important concerns of the assemblies. In addition to the records relating to such matters maintained by the central government, the villages seem to have kept their own record books including a land-register (*nila-mudal*) and a tax-register (*pottagam*).[114] The consent of the *sabhā* was essential to any alteration in the classification of the lands in the village; the king simultaneously addressed the local *adhikāri* (official of the government) and the *sabhā* concerned,[115] and then they met together and put the business through. The part of the assemblies in the administration of justice has been noticed before. The judicial officers of the village (*niyāyattār*) evidently used the proceeds of fines levied by them for some common good. In one instance, they presented a golden diadem to the god of a local temple.[116]

109 29 of 1898. The name not of the purāṇa but of a sūtra. *SII.* ii, p. 524, l. 118).

110 33 of 1898.

111 194 of 1923.

112 36 of 1898; 112 and 113 of 1925; 182 of 1915; 97 of 1928.

113 *TAS.* i, pp. 168-9; 260 of 1915; 569 of 1908.

114 *SII.* iii, 150.

115 188 of 1919.

116 221 of 1921.

The village assemblies sometimes stimulated the flow of private charity for the general benefit of the community by giving suitable public recognition to their benefactors. The *sabhā* of Tiruppēr recorded in an inscription, A. D. 1129, their gratitude to a certain Bhaṭṭa whose prayers and benefactions were believed to have been of great use to the village in a troublesome period when its fortunes had sunk low and the people were deserting it.[117] The *sabhā* of Uttaramērūr conferred some hereditary privileges on a courtesan who carried out extensive repairs and additions to the Viṣṇu temple in the locality.[118] The *sthānattār* of the temple and the residents of Tirumalavāḍi adopted an interesting method to express their gratitude to a benefactor; he had greatly improved the temple and by slightly diverting the course of the Coleroon, averted the danger of inundation which threatened the village; in appreciation of these and other services, the *sthānattār* petitioned the deity on the occasion of a festival that a free house might be granted in perpetuity for the residence in the village itself of this great benefactor, and then, ostensibly with the sanction of the deity, a house was set apart for the purpose from the properties of the temple.[119] This was in 1223. Other examples can be easily gathered from the inscriptions.

Such in outline were the nature, organisation and function of local assemblies and groups in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In a general account, many

[117] 276 of 1901. See also 211 and 205 of 1928.
[118] 172 of 1923.
[119] 91 of 1920.

characteristic details which might add vividness to the picture are necessarily left out. No room can be found for them except in detailed histories of particular assemblies which cannot be attempted here.[120] But what has been said is enough to show that between an able bureaucracy and the active local assemblies which in various ways fostered a live sense of citizenship, there was attained a high standard of administrative efficiency and purity, perhaps the highest ever attained by the Hindu State.

[120] See *Studies*, iv, v.

CHAPTER XIX

TAXATION : FINANCE

Subjects of Taxation.

(The economy of the mediaeval state had little in common with that of modern governments, and the Indian State was no exception. Taxation was based partly on custom, and partly, especially in the case of new levies, on the consent, tacit or express, of the groups affected. Land was the mainstay of national economy and the land-tax, collected in cash or kind, or as often happened in the Cōḷa State by a judicious mixture of both methods, was the chief source of revenue. Customs and octroi, profession taxes assessed in various ways, and the taxation of gifts of nature worked up by man, such as the produce of mines, forests and salt-pans, were also resorted to. And the *corvée* was exacted with more or less regularity. When the cumulative effects of these burdens became too oppresive, the people abandoned their homesteads and betook themselves elsewhere; the fear of local depopulation was an ever-present check on the rapacity of the tax-collector.)

Public expenditure.

The nature of the charges on the public revenues depended upon the agency that gathered the tax or the due; for it was not merely the king's government that collected revenue in the form of taxes; local bodies and other agencies of a communal or professional character also raised levies for various purposes. The main charge on the revenues of the king was the salaries of officials,

including the maintenance of the army and the navy; in the higher rungs of public service these salaries took the form of assignments of particular revenue items in particular areas so that what was paid into the king's treasury (*tālam*) was a net income that remained after deductions on account of such assignments. What remained after paying the charges of administration was the property of the king and entirely at his disposal. A good part of it no doubt went to the maintenance of the king's personal establishment including the numerous queens and their retinues. Members of the royal family who commanded the special affection of the ruling monarch, like Śembiyanmahādēvi in Uttama Cōḷa's reign, Kundavai in Rājarāja's, must have received very sumptuous allowances from the king's treasury. A great amount of treasure was kept in the form of jewels and precious stones which served the double purpose of personal distinction for the king and a financial reserve for the state. What Abu Zayd notes generally of Indian kings in the beginning of the tenth century no doubt applied to conditions in the Cōḷa court as well:[1] "The Kings of India wear ear-rings of precious-stones mounted on gold. They wear round the neck collars of great value made of precious stones, red (rubies) and green (emeralds), but pearls have the greatest value and in most cases they are used. In fact, pearls constitute the treasure of the kings and their financial reserve.[2] The generals and the high

[1]Ferrand—*Voyage*, p. 138.

[2]The Tiruvālangāḍu plates say that Rājēndra I captured the pearls of the Pāṇḍya King in his Southern expedition.

functionaries wear equally collars of pearls." On a smaller scale the assignees who were in the enjoyment of incomes of varying sizes from the areas assigned to them imitated the model set by the king. All of them distributed their resources among hoarding, personal expenditure, and 'charity', which went to meet much of what we should now call social expenditure.

Revenue terms.

(The language of the inscriptions describing the taxes and dues is seldom susceptible of complete or satisfactory interpretation at present, and nothing more can be done than to offer some tentative inferences from the records which will require confirmation or modification in the light of further study.) The most general term for taxes and dues employed in the epigraphy of the period is *irai* or *vari*. Two other general terms are *manru-pāḍu* and *daṇḍam*. The former was of the nature of judicial fine incurred for specific offences.[3] *Daṇḍam* is a closely related term and often goes with *manru-pāḍu;* in one instance the former is said to be an instance of the latter.[4] But *daṇḍam* is a term also employed in another sense at least in one instance. A *daṇḍam* of 3,000 *kaḻañju* of gold was levied[5] by Parāntaka I in his 38th year, A.D. 945, on the assembly of Tirukkuḍamūkkil, and the amount was to be paid by them to the

[3] Note the use of *manṟa* as a verb in this sense. (*SII.* iii, 27, l. 9).

[4] *SII.* iii, 93—*Daṇḍam-uḷḷiṭṭu eppēr-ppaṭṭa manṟupāḍum* (ll. 28-30). The preceding syllables *'ānavāy'* have been read together with *'daṇḍam'* by Krishna Sastri, who sees a new duty in the phrase *'ānavāydaṇḍam.'* I am inclined to think that *'ānavāy'* means 'as occasion arises'. (Vol. i, p. 383, n. ‡). Again Krishna Sastri takes *manṟu-pāḍu* to be a duty levied by the assembly; if the assembly had a part in its levy and collection, it must have exercised its judicial power on such occasions.

[5] 255 of 1911.

Pāṇḍip-paḍai, perhaps the troops (engaged in the) Pāṇḍyan (war). Here the *daṇḍam* has the appearance of a special war-levy, though this is not quite clear. The inscription does not give the reason for the levy. The amount was very huge in this case, and the assembly was still arranging for its payment in the third year of Gaṇḍarāditya, by selling some lands to the local temple. It is also possible that this was a heavy punishment brought down on themselves by the *sabhā* in some manner. A record from Ālanguḍi states that Vīrarājēndra levied a special tax of one *kaḻañju* of gold per *vēli* of land to finance his war against Vengi.[6]

Another general term of somewhat uncertain import is *'iravu'*, which, in one of the few instances[7] so far known of it, figures as some sort of a cess paid in kind and amounting to a little over 20 per cent of the *puravu*, the land-tax. The word *'iravu'* (begging) reminds one of a famous saying in the *Kuṟaḷ* which compares to a highwayman the king addressing a request to his subjects (for financial assistance); this saying in turn recalls Kauṭilya's dicta on *praṇaya* (benevolence).

Classes of taxes.

Other general terms in common use were *Āyam* (revenue), *Kaḍamai* and *Kuḍimai* meaning literally 'duty' and 'tenancy-dues'. *'Āyam'* had apparently the same

[6] 521 of 1920, *ARE*. 1921, II 35.
[7] *SII*. iii, 142.

wide application as '*irai*' and a number of minor dues were grouped together under the general description of '*śittāyam*' or '*śillirai*', both sometimes found together in the same inscription.[8] But the most significant grouping of the taxes and dues, that which provides a key to the whole tax-system, is that contained in a phrase like the following from an inscription of the twentieth year of Rājarāja I:[9] "Any kind of *Kuḍimai* due at the Sacred Victorious Gate, the taxation (*varippāḍu*) levied by the *ūr* (town or village), and any other type of *Kuḍimai*." The same inscription expands the last of the three items named into: "*irai* on those on which *irai* was due, and *eccoru*."[10] The "Sacred Victorious Gate" (*tiru-kkorra-vāśal*) means no doubt the gate of the king's palace, and the first division of the taxes mentioned in this list comprised those levied by the king's government.[11] Then came the dues levied by the local assembly, *ūr*, *sabhā* or *nagaram*, and these were grouped under the name '*ūriḍu-varippāḍu*', 'taxes levied by the town (or village)'. Lastly, it is to be noticed that the term *Kuḍimai* was applied to all the groups without distinction; thus understood, *Kuḍimai* stands for the 'duties of the *kuḍis*' or 'burdens of citizenship' and is quite close in meaning also to '*kaḍamai*.' After recording the gift of some

[8]194 of 1923.

[9]121 of 1925. Cf. also 388 or 1913; and 140 of 1926 for similar phrases. 147 of 1925 has: '*peru-vari śil-vari tiru-vāśalil pōnda kuḍimai eppērppaṭṭadum*. See also 149 of 1925.

[10]This is one of the most difficult terms. Does it mean after all, 'any kind of meal' or 'a meal on any account'? It will be remembered that the right of some persons to be fed is stipulated for in certain conditions.

[11]Sometimes we have only *Vāśalil-pōnda Kuḍimai* for this class as in 388 of 1913. cf. Rājadvāra in 197 of 1923.

fields as *ēri-paṭṭi* (tank-land), the assembly (*ūr*) of Neṟkuṇam undertook never to exercise their rights of taxation in a manner calculated to abrogate the gift.[12] The expression *Ūr-Kīḻ-Iṟaiyili*, tax-free under the *ūr*, employed of some lands also implies that such lands were exempted from all dues because the residents of the village had undertaken to pay these dues in the ratio of their holdings in the village.[13]

Central control.

A general order of Rājarāja I issued by him at his capital, Tañjāvūr, and applicable to the Cōḻa, Toṇḍai and Pāṇḍya countries shows the extent to which the local authorities could rely on themselves for the collection of local cesses, and the readiness of the central government to come to their aid, when necessary, in enforcing their demands. In certain classes of villages, those of the Brahmans, Vaikhānasas and Śramaṇas, persons who held land under the service-tenure (*kāṇi-uḍaiya*) were slack in the payment of dues assessed upon them by the village authorities (*ūriḍuvarippāḍu*). The grounds

[12]*SII*. iii, 93. The phrase used is '*Kuḍimai-śeyyil*', i.e., if (we) levy Kuḍimai. Krishna Sastri translates this into: 'if we assert our occupancy-rights'. It seems to me to be a promise meant to stop, not the encroachment on the land itself, but on the income from it which was to be devoted to the maintenance of the tank.

[13]109 of 1911 seems to explain the meaning of *Ūr-kīḻ-iṟaiyili* in the following: innilangaḷukku ūr viḷukkāṭṭuppaḍi pottagappaḍi paṟṟi vanda nilam engaḷ pērgaḷilē ēṟṟi iṟukkak-kaḍavōm āgavum; engaḷ pakkal viṟṟuk-koṇḍārum śtrī-dhanam peṟṟārum maṟṟum peṟṟu uḍaiyārum ippaḍi iṟukkak-kaḍavargaḷ āgavum. 224 of 1917 from Koṟukkai, Tanjore district, dated 1169, furnishes an example of the *sabhā* taking 160 *kāśus* from the temple treasury and agreeing to pay the taxes due on half a *nilam* which, after years of neglect, was brought under cultivation to provide for the supply of a flower garland every night to the temple; the *sabhā* agreed to continue to pay the taxes on the land irrespective of any changes in ownership.

for the attitude of these tenants are not stated; apparently, they held that they were not liable to these minor cesses; and there was an attempt at concerted action on their part. The dispute became a long-drawn affair, and the whole subject went up to the king for his decision. The inscription[14] records the royal award which went against the tenants and authorised the villages to realise the taxes from them as from other villagers (ūrgaḷilār). Those tenants who, from the sixteenth to the twenty-third year of the king's reign, were found to be in arrears for a period of two complete years and a third, were declared liable to have their lands distrained and sold by the village concerned, and the defaulting tenants were forbidden to take any part in such proceedings. This award was made by the king on the 124th day of the 24th year of his reign.

Remissions.

The names of the taxes and their nature, so far as known, are generally learnt from the numerous records of exemptions granted to various institutions from the payment of these dues. Although the local assemblies are seen to have been responsible for the bulk of such exemptions, examples are not wanting of the king granting similar exemptions in particular cases.[15] In either case, each authority must be understood to have remitted the particular dues which it would have been entitled to levy in the absence of the remission. This is expressly stated in some instances as when the *sabhā-viniyōgam* is

[14] *SII.* iii, 9.
[15] 604 of 1920.

said to be remitted on some temple lands which were already *ūr-kīḻ-iṟaiyili.*[16] Cases of remission must be carefully distinguished from those of commutation in which, as has been shown elsewhere, all future dues were provided for by the payment of a lump sum roughly equal to their value capitalised at current rates of interest. Though the formula of exemption was similar in either case, there was an important difference. When taxes were remitted no payment was due from anybody; when they were only commuted, the usual rule was for the assembly of the village, in which the property or the institution concerned was situated, to receive the lump payment made, to hold itself responsible to the authorities concerned, including itself, for the payment of future dues, and to issue a document to that effect to the parties concerned.[17] Such a deed was called *Iṟai-kāval* (lit. tax-guard).

Commutation.

(The village assemblies were held responsible for the land revenue due to the central government from the lands in the village.) This arrangement was enforced right to the end of our period. A record from Kaḷappāl[18] (Tanjore Dt.) dated A. D. 1274 describes the sale, by the executive body of the village assembly, of land belonging to a certain person who had emigrated to the Pāṇḍya country and died there without having paid the dues on his lands for about ten years. That

Responsibility of assemblies.

[16] 526 of 1918.
[17] 168 of 1929.
[18] 336 of 1925.

arrears of revenue were allowed to accumulate for so many years gives us incidentally a measure of the difference in the method of collection between now and then.

Custom and precedent.

The rôle of custom in governing assessments becomes clear from the references to ancient time-honoured standards in particular matters. In an age of active municipal life conscious imitation is necessarily one of the methods by which the practice of different towns tends to become uniform. One of the most conspicuous examples of this process in the Cōḷa period is furnished by the adoption of the 'ancient standard of Nandipuram,' in the levy of manṟu-pāḍu in the towns of Mēlappaḷuvūr and Tiruccengōḍu in the reigns of Sundaracōḷa and Rājarāja I.[19] Nandipuram, also known as Āyirattaḷi,[20] was a flourishing town in the Tanjore District often mentioned in the inscriptions. It was in this place apparently that Nandivarman Pallavamalla had to stand a siege by the Tamil princes at the beginning of his reign before he was liberated by his celebrated general Udayacandra. A verse preserved in the commentary on the *Vīra-śōliyam* calls Sundaracōḷa the king of Nandipuram.

Special contributions.

Besides the regular taxes and dues, occasional contributions were also levied for particular purposes by local authorities. An inscription at Erode, of the year

[19] 365 and 367 of 1924; *SII.* iii, 212.
[20] 145 of 1928.

A.D. 922, records that the people of a whole *nāḍu* undertook to pay some new cesses for providing for the worship of Kṛṣṇa in a Viṣṇu temple at Erode. These new cesses were: half-paṇam on each household (*kuḍi*); an eighth (of a *paṇam*) each from either party to a marriage; and one *mañjāḍi* and one *kunṟi* of gold as due (*pāṭṭam*) from each crematorium,—indeed a strange assortment.[21] Again, at Talaiccangāḍu in Tanjore a sum of 100 *kāśus* was raised from the professional and religious groups of the locality for making certain necessary endowments in the local temple in the reign of Rājarāja I.[22] In 1096, the people of Kāmarasavalli (Trichinopoly district) provided for a festival and for certain offerings in the temple by requiring the following collections to be made and remitted to the temple: one *kuṟuṇi* of paddy per *mā* of all the fields growing paddy, millet (*varagu*) or gingelly (*eḷ*); one nut from each areca tree and one *uḻakku* of oil from the house of every cultivator (*veḷḷān*).[23] At Tiṭṭaguḍi (South Arcot), an image of the goddess Bhūmidēvi was set up about A.D. 1170, and the joint assembly of the Cittiramēḻi-periya-nāḍu and the Tiśai-āyirattu-aiññūṟṟuvar resolved to levy the following contributions for the requirements of services and offerings to the new deity: one *padakku* of paddy per annum on each plough (*ēr*), one *kuṟuṇi* on each labourer (*āḷ*), five *kāśus* to be paid by each florist (*mālai kaṭṭi parimāruvār*), two *kāśus* by each of the

[21] 167 of 1910. The record is a late copy of a genuine one.
[22] 198 of 1925.
[23] 73 of 1914.

servants (*paṇi-makkaḷ*) employed under the two corporate bodies assessing the levy, four measures of *ghī* from each family of cowherds in the village. Those who went to the villages to collect these dues were to be given by each village: half *kalam* of white rice (*veḷḷai ariśi*) one *kalam* of *puri* rice, fifty areca-nuts, two *paṟṟu* of betel leaves, one *nāḻi* of salt, one *uri* of pepper, and one measure of gingelly oil; the collectors were also authorised to enter into dwellings, distrain metal vessels and break mud vessels in the process of collection.[24] One may doubt if these sanctions are to be understood literally; they might have been no more than an attempt to impress on the people the high importance and the urgency of the contributions thus levied. Four years later, in 1174, the guild of the oil-mongers subject to the Great Guild (Mānagaram) of Kāñcīpuram resolved that each oil-mill in the premises of a temple should provide for the specified number of lamps and offerings in the temple by contribution of the necessary *kaḍamai* and one old *kāśu* per annum, and should observe this rule as a caste-ordinance (*jāti-dharma*).[25] In 1232, the *māhēśvaras* attached to the temple and *maṭhas* at Tirukkaṇṇapuram (Tanjore district) resolved to supplement the dwindling resources of the temple by levying contributions, in cash and kind from the servants of the temples in specified areas and from those who wore the sacred cord (*pūṇūlē kuṟiyāga*); elaborate arrangements were also sanctioned for the collection of the

[24] 21 of 1903.
[25] 261 of 1909.

dues and for the remuneration of the collectors.[26] The *pēriḷamaiyār* of Śangēndi (Trichinopoly district) order the collection of paddy from cultivators for meeting the requirements of the local temple.[27] In the eleventh year of Rājēndra III, A.D. 1257, the *nagarattār* of Kōvilūr (Tanjore district) made over to the temple of Uśāttānam-uḍaiyār some of the tolls and other dues, usually levied by them viz. the rice they got as *nilakkūli* on their lands, and the *pāḍi-kāval, kai-vāśi* and cash dues (*kāśu-vargam*) on each *podi* (bag) of rice brought into the township.[28] In 1264, an inscription from Ālanguḍi records the levy of a voluntary impost by the *rathakāras* on themselves for some purpose that is not clear owing to the damaged condition of the record.[29] Lastly an undated record from Tiruppaḷanam contains a resolution of the *nāḍu, nagaram* and *padinenviṣaiyam* transferring to the temple certain dues usually collected by them from the farmers and the octroi duties on pepper, areca-nut, bales of cloth, bags of rice and so on.[30]

Incidence.

Such instances of local imposts, together with the express statement sometimes made that borrowing was resorted to because the people were not in a position to bear any additional taxation, raise the impression that on the one hand taxation in one form and another pressed the people rather

[26] 537 of 1922.
[27] 327 of 1928.
[28] 204 of 1908.
[29] 4 of 1899.
[30] 187 of 1928.

hard, and that on the other hand, for most of the extra or *ad hoc* taxation resorted to, the active consent of the tax-payer was sought beforehand.

Sometimes particular dues were ear-marked for certain specified purpose such as the payment of interest on a perpetual loan given to a *sabhā* by the local temple.[31] The villages situated on the banks of the Kāvēri and its branches had sometimes to take special measures for keeping the river bund in good repair to avert inundation during the floods; such villages had to levy a special cess towards this purpose. An inscription of the reign of Kulōttunga III from Tiruppāmburam mentions the *Kāvērik-karai-viniyōgam.*[32]

Surveying of lands.

(Land and houses provided the primary subjects of taxation. An accurate survey of land leading to a careful recording of land rights in government books appears to have been undertaken sometime about the middle of Rājarāja's reign, and from that time, the references to land surveys and measurements as recorded in them become more noticeable.[33]) An inscription dated 1184 from Tirumangalam,[34] Tanjore district, is of peculiar interest. It records that discrepancies had arisen in course of time between the record of land rights in the village and their actual distribution. The reasons were: first, the natural tendency to be remiss in maintaining the records fully

[31] *TAS*. vi, pp. 11-12.
[32] 96 of 1911. cf. the term sabhā-viniyōgam.
[33] 199 of 1917; 59 of 1913; 413 of 1902, etc.
[34] 113 of 1927.

up to date; second, the encroachments on pathways, canal bunds and so on by greedy ryots who had surreptitiously extended their holdings; lastly, the Vikrama-Cōḷappērāṟu had altered its course causing damage to some fields, and the taxes were still being assessed at the old rates without any allowance being made for this damage. A new survey was undertaken and the results recorded in detail in the inscription under reference. The records include the names and boundaries of all the shrines in the villages together with the lands they held. Among the entries made in the register, the following are noteworthy: land set apart for the sacrifice of goats (*kiḍā*) to the *piḍāri*; *kāṇis* for houses for *ambaṭṭar* and *nāvidar*;[35] the potter, carpenter, black-smith, goldsmith, washerman, and *paḷḷis* come in for free shares. The site whence earth was dug out for the river bank, and the burning ground are declared *nīngal*. But for the numerous gaps in this long inscription, it would be a most satisfactory and complete account of the distribution of land in the village at the time of the record.

Classification and assessment.

Not one of the inscriptions, however, contains a definite statement of the proportion of the produce that formed the normal share of the state. Frequently enough the absolute quantity of paddy or other produce collected in the form of particular taxes from given units of measure is stated; one inscription[36] of the time of Rājādhirāja I, for instance, records that

[35] Both the words now mean 'barbers'; possibly there was some difference between the two classes in the past.

[36] 103 of 1912.

iṟai paid to a temple on some lands was 28 *kalams* of paddy per *vēli* while on others it was only 19; it is clear that the rate of assessment differed with the fertility of the soil. The classification of land into different grades, as many as twelve or more grades (*taram*),[37] and unclassed lands (*taramili*) being alluded to, also points to the same conclusion. But in no single instance do we seem to have the data for calculating the precise ratio between the tax and the yield. In the circumstances, any effort to compare the incidence of the land-tax under the Cōḷas with that in modern times is bound to be unsuccessful.[38] Vague statements to the effect that the king followed the laws of Manu or that he collected one-sixth of the produce of the earth as the tax due to him[39] can hardly be accepted at their face value. The standard rate of 100 *kalams* per *vēli*, which figures in the Tanjore inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja I as the share of the temple on *dēvadāna* lands[40] may, on the assumption that the fertility of land was then very much what it is now, be found to work out at something like a third of the gross produce. It is possible that this represents the state's share on these lands made over to the temple; if this conclusion is correct the land tax under the Cōḷas would compare not unfavourably with what it was at other times and in other parts of India. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Munro calculated

[37] 343 of 1917, l. 11; 386 of 1903, dated 1074, mentions the 14th grade at Mahādānapuram.

[38] *IA*. Vol. 40 (1911), pp. 165-8, contains a superficial attempt in this direction.

[39] *SII*. iii, 28, l. 7.

[40] *SII*. ii, 4, 5 etc.

that in Anantapur the sarkar share was no less than 45¾% of the gross produce from land.[41])

That the revenue from agricultural lands was periodically reassessed, and the classification of the land revised from time to time in accordance with changes in cropping, fertility and so on, is amply borne out by the inscriptions.[42] Once more, the regular practice in these matters has to be inferred from the exceptions which are specially recorded. In some instances the *nāṭṭār* or the *sabhā* undertake never to raise the land set apart for a charity from a lower grade to a higher one in any reclassification in future years. In others the tax due from specified areas of land is fixed in perpetuity as a *nilai-iṟai*, a permanent settlement. In the fifteenth year of a Parakēsari, at the instance of Kaṇḍan-Maṟavan, a Cōḷa feudatory, the *nāṭṭār* of Kunṟak-kūṟṟam assigned some land to a public servant as his *janma-bhūmi* (same as *jīvita* ?), and ordered that he was to pay on the land a fixed tax (*nilai-iṟai*) of 25 *kaḷañjus* of gold of the treasury standard of fineness (*tāla-ccemmai*).[43] From the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, it is seen that Rājēndra I fixed in perpetuity[44] the dues to be paid to the temple of Mahādēva every year by the *dēvadāna* village of Paḷaiyanūr.

Permanent assessment.

[41]Letter to the Private Secretary to the Governor, dated Anantapur, 20th June 1806. I owe this reference to Dr. K. N. V. Sastri. See also Moreland, *India at the death of Akbar*, p. 98.

[42]3 of 1899 is a very interesting, though fragmentary, record giving a vivid idea of the process of re-settlement and the accuracy of the land-revenue registers of the time.

[43]356 of 1924.

[44]Ninṟiraiyāy, l. 76.

Names of taxes.

A brief review of some typical inscriptions will convey a general idea of the nature and number of taxes, cesses and other dues. Though their name is legion, most of them were not general, but occasional and restricted in their incidence. In A.D. 944 the *sabhā* of Ukkal resolved that their executive committees[45] were to abstain from exacting *Veṭṭi* (forced labour), *Vedilai* and *Vālakkāṇam* from the tenants settled in Śōdiyambākkam, a hamlet assigned to a Viṣṇu temple in the locality; the temple was moreover granted the right to levy and exact fines (*manṟu-pāḍu*) from the peasants of the village for their faults and sins (*kuṟṟan-dōṣam*).[46] The Madras Museum Plates of Uttama Cōḷa record that the older inhabitants of Śōḷāniyamam in Kāñcīpuram, an area belonging to the temple, were excused the payment of all ancient dues;[47] those residents, however, who had come from other towns and villages and had settled in it, were required to contribute as *iṟai* to the god of Ūragam a quarter measure of oil and two *nāḻis* of rice per household per month; even they were exempt from any other dues levied by the *nagaram*. The *kōl-nirai-kūli* and *kāl-aḷavu-kūli* of Kāñcīpuram which were assigned as income to the temple of Ūragam are explained in the Sanskrit portion of the Museum plates as tolls on articles measured by weight and by capacity.[48] That this was a very

[45]The committees named are: samvatsara, ēri and tōṭṭam.

[46]*SII.* iii, 12.

[47]ll. 89-94. The expression *Pūrva-marjjādi-iṟai* recalls *purvācāram* of the Uttaramērūr inscriptions.

[48] ll. 4, 15-6.

small toll is seen from the rate of half-nāḷi per *kalam* recorded in an inscription from Tiruvāmāttur of the time of Rājarāja I;[49] in this place this *kūli* was given to the *paḷḷis* of the village who measured the paddy due to the temple from its tenants till about A.D. 1010, when as a result of an enquiry into the affairs of the temple, this *kūli* was transferred to the *uvaccar* as remuneration for their services in the temple, including the cost of clothes to be supplied to a *māṇi* (a brahmacārin) who officiated at the *śrī-bali* ceremony. Examples of general taxes falling upon the residents of Tiruvallam in the fourth year of Rājēndra I are stated to be : the price of water from wells and tanks and the gold of joyous persons. The latter (*ugappār pon*) seems to be a small payment made by householders on auspicious occasions like marriages.[50] In the sixth year of Rājēndra I, the Tiruvālangāḍu plates record a formidable list of *parihāras* made over to the temple; all these *parihāras,*—the list is a long one and yet said to be not exhaustive,[51]—were thenceforth to be collected by the temple and not by the king. Some years later, in A.D. 1021, the *sabhā* of Vēmbaṟṟūr received sixty-five *kāśus*[52] from the Śiva temple of Śrī-Kuḍittiṭṭai,

[49] 16 of 1922.

[50] *SII.* iii, 54. The text is : " Mē-nīrum kiṇaṟum nīr-kkīy vilaiyum ugappār ponnum." Hultzsch translates this into: "the high level water, the wells, the price paid for water, the gold of *ugappār*." *Mē-nīr* in contrast with *kiṇaṟu* (well) seems to imply "a receptacle of water from above", a tank. The whole of the first phrase, therefore, may be understood as above.

[51] *SII.* iii, pp. 410-11, ll. 436-442. Krishna Sastri gives tentative renderings of some of these in his translation (pp. 436-37).

[52] 292 of 1908.

and in lieu of interest thereon, they agreed to forgo the following dues from some temple lands; the siddhāya-kāśu, the pañcavāra-paddy, gram and dholl, oil and ghī and other *vari* levied by the town (*ūriḍuvari*), the payment for the tank (*ēri-īvu*) and the forced labour (*vēdanai*) on banks and bunds (*kulai* and *kurambu*) and other smaller dues (*śilvari*). An inscription of Uḍaiyār Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya from Tiruvālīśvaram[53] states that five *vēlis* of land were converted from *Brahmadēya* into ryotwari land (*veḷḷān-vagai*) and required thereafter to pay as land-tax (*iṟaik-kaḍan*) paddy to the amount of 642 *kalams,* 6 *kuṟuṇis,* and 2¾ *nāḻis,* and 2½ *śeviḍus* as measured by the *nārāyam* equal to five *nāḻis;* besides 35¼ and 3|80 *kāśus* as *uruvu kōl-nilan-kāśu* and 5 *kāśus* as *kātci-erudu-kāśu.* Among money-dues (āyam) to be collected from some lands in Kiḻūr were : maramañjāḍi, pāḍi-kāval, vēṇḍu-kōḷ, manaik-kāṭci-ppēṟu, kūṟaik-kāśu, kiḍāk-kāśu and others; only these *āyams,* and no other kind of dues, were to be levied from the lands (older *dēvadānas* excepted) set apart by two Malaiyamān chieftains for certain expenses in the temple at Tirukkōyilūr.[54] Of these cesses *mara-mañjāḍi* seems to have been the levy of one *mañjāḍi* of gold on each useful tree; *pāḍi-kāval* was no doubt a payment on account of the village watchman's fee, and *kiḍāk-kāśu,* a small cess on each head of male cattle; the nature of the other dues is not easily understood. An important record of the reign of Rājādhirāja I from Tribhuvani gives the

[53]327 of 1916.

[54]262 of 1902.

information[55] that the annual share of the landlord on 72 *vēlis* of land was 12,000 *kalams* of paddy, giving an average of 166 and ⅔ *kalams* per *vēli;* and that after remitting this amount of paddy, the tenants cultivating these lands were to be held liable only for ēri-āyam, pāḍi-kāval-kūli, free labour (amañji) on the tank, and not for any other customary dues (marijādi) of the *piḍāgai* (section of village) such as veḷḷān-iṟai, uḷaviṟai, āḷ and amañji. In the second year of Vīrarājēndra[56] the proceeds from the following taxes in several villages named belonging to three *nāḍus* were made over to the temple of Tiruveṇkāḍu towards the expenses on festivals and offerings on the king's birthdays: all kīḻ-iṟaip-pāṭṭam (smaller taxes) including ūrk-kaḷañju, kumara-kaccāṇam, mīnpāṭṭam, āṟṟup-pāṭṭam and taṭṭārp-pāṭṭam; taṟip-puḍavai, daśa-vandam, vēlik-kāśu, śēvakak-kāśu, valangai-iḍangai-mahanmai, tingaḷ-mōham, and ten *kāśus* per head on account of the panmai and paṇḍa-veṭṭi (free supplies?) dues from these villages. Another record of the same reign dated three years later gives a very similar list of taxes and dues from places in the Chingleput district made over to the temple of Accara-pākam for a like purpose.[57] In this list the term *antarāyam* is applied to a number of taxes collected by the sabhā including iṟaiyilik-kāśu, panmai, paṇḍa-veṭṭi, ugavaipon, kāval-śēvagam and so on; and others fall under the heads of *kuḍimai* and *kaḍamai,* though the

[55] 176 of 1919.

[56] 113 of 1896.

[57] 253 of 1901.

principle of grouping is by no means easy to infer from the names of the taxes themselves.

In 1100 A.D., the dues remitted on some *dēvadāna* lands at Cōḷapuram (South Travancore) included *māḍaik-kūli* and *dasavandam* among the *pāṭṭams,* and *antarāyam* and *śil-kuḍimai.*[58] An inscription from Tennēri (Chingleput), dated 1116, exempts the people residing on some lands from the payment of *vāśal-tiramam* (door-tax) and the provision of *manai-yiṟai-śōṟu* and *veṭṭi-muṭṭai-yāḷ* (free food and labour on specified occasions); the *mahāsabhā* undertake themselves to pay *nīrvilai-antarāyam* and all *śilliṟai* on the same land.[59] Again, a record of 1123 from Tiṇḍivanam mentions that for capitalising the dues on a plot of land worth 20 *kāśus,* a donor had to pay down 100 *kāśus,* from the interest on which were to be met dues described as follows : *sennīr-amañji tiruveḷuccik-kuḍimai peru-vari śilliṟai eccoṟu veṭṭi muṭṭaiyāḷ kōyil vāśalil pōnda kuḍimai eppērppaṭṭadum.*[59a] The same record also gives the following as due from the *nattakkollai,* residential part, of the village: *uppukkāśu śennīr-amañji tiru-veḷuccik-kuḍimai eccoṟu kūṟṟunellu eppērppaṭṭana.* The *sabhā* of Madhurāntakam sell some land from the *gōpracārabhūmi,* grazing common, of the township, and in doing so, they state that they forgo the *kaḍamai* due on areca-trees growing on the land then sold, and in fact, all other taxes (*vari*) including the *manai-iṟai* (house tax) on the houses built upon it.[60] The names of other

[58] 31 of 1896.
[59] 224 of 1922.
[59a] 205 of 1902.
[60] 128 of 1896.

dues mentioned in the inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja III are: *māp-padakku, kaṇkāṇi, tari-iṟai* in the *tirumaḍai-viḷāgam* (temple premises), *maganmai* from carpenters and smiths and potters, poll tax (*pēr-vari*) on *vāṇiyar* (oil mongers), and the *kaḍamai* on oil-mills—mentioned in a record of the thirteenth year from Munnūr, South Arcot;[61] *taniyāṭ-pēṟu* and *kangāṇi mā-nellu* in a record of the fifteenth year from Vāyalūr;[62] *kārttigai-ariśi, kārttigai-paccai* and other cash dues (*kāśāyam*), *kaḍai-iṟai* (shop-tax) and *ājīvakak-kāśu*, evidently a tax on *ājīvakas*—mentioned in an inscription of the twenty-second year from Poygai near Viriñcipuram;[63] *kaṇakka-vari, eḍuttuk-koṭṭi, arimukkai*—three dues collected in the form of paddy, and *veṭṭip-puḍavai, mudaṟ-ṟiramam, vagainda-kāśu, paṭṭōlaik-kāśu, muḷḷaḍiśinnam, vēlip-payaṟu, tāppaḍi-ariśi, acca-taṟi, śaligait-taṟi, tūśagat-taṟi, paṟait-taṟi*—all apparently small cash dues (*kāśu-kaḍamai*) mentioned in a record[64] of the twenty-eighth year from the same place, with the addition 'and other dues in cash and kind'; and lastly *paṭṭit-teṇḍam, māvaḍai, maravaḍai* in a record of the thirtieth year from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.[65] Most of these terms are still obscure; but they give an idea of the extent of local variations and the senseless multiplication of very minor dues in the tax system, and almost seem to suggest that

[61] 57 of 1919.

[62] 421 of 1922.

[63] *SII.* i, 59. The phrase *āśuvigaḷ-pērāṟ-kāśu* occurs in 199 of 1912, a very interesting record.

[64] *SII.* i, 64.

[65] 495 of 1902.

the number of dues was increasing with the weakness and ineffectiveness of the central government. There can be no doubt that, judged by any standard, the system especially in the later period was complex, confused, vexatious in the extreme and, most probably, relatively unproductive.

An inscription[66] of Adhirājēndra states that the minor dues from the *dēvadāna* villages of the Tiruvallam temple detailed under the heads *kīḻiraip-pāṭṭam* and *antarāyam*, were collected at the consolidated rate of 25 *kāśus* per 1000 *kalams*. But what are these 1000 *kalams*? Do they represent gross produce, or the temple's share of it? On the former assumption, the minor taxes would constitute a substantial addition to the burden laid on land. As the same inscription states that one *kāśu* was equal to four *kalams* of paddy, the surcharge on account of the minor taxes comes to 10%. If this is a rate calculated on the gross produce, and if the incidence of land revenue calculated above may be presumed to have continued to hold in this reign as well, cultivators had to give up in one way and another something well over 40% of the gross produce; a rate that does not compare unfavourably with what we know of the land tax under the Vijayanagar or the Moghul rulers.

Pāḍi-kāval.

The term *pāḍi-kāval* occurring more than once in the lists of taxes and dues deserves more attention than most of the other items mentioned; for it refers to a universally prevalent

[66] *SII.* iii, 57, ll. 8 ff.

system of safeguarding property from theft, especially at night. This was the system by which each village maintained its own *kāval-kāran* who, in return for certain regular payments to him, held himself responsible for the security of property in the village to the extent of either recovering lost property or making it good; this system survived in some measure almost till the other day in the Tamil country, and it seems to have been indeed of very ancient origin. A special staff of officials entrusted with this duty, and maintained from the proceeds of a special cess ear-marked for the purpose, the *pāḍi-kāval-kūli* as it is sometimes called, formed a regular feature of the Cōḷa administrative system. In the later Cōḷa days, we find these duties increasingly falling into the hands of the over-grown vassals whose rise was a symptom of the imminent dissolution of the empire. Humbler men in charge of relatively restricted areas also carried on their work more quietly and with less detriment to the well-being of the central administration. An inscription from Talaiccangāḍu (Tanjore district) dated A. D. 1221 states that the *pāḍi-kāppār* were provided with residences in the villages in addition to some allowances as their wages.[67] Examples of the other type are quite numerous; often an individual is found in possession of the *pāḍi-kāval-kāṇi* of a whole *nāḍu*, if not of a wider area, and such an individual often gave expression to his vanity or piety by remitting the fee due from sacred property belonging to temples, or requiring the temple authorities to burn lights or

[67] 207 of 1925, *muṟkāvaluḍaiya pāḍi-kāppār*.

conduct festivals in the manner specified by him instead of paying the fee. The Vāṇakōvaraiyas, Malaiyamāns, Muttaraiyas, Śāmbuvarāyas and Kāḍavarāyas all furnish instances of the practice sketched above.[68] The terms *perumbāḍi-kāval*[69] and *mēṟ-pāḍi-kāval*[70] are sometimes employed, and these are perhaps meant to indicate the wider sphere of their police duties, or their higher status as compared to the ordinary *pāḍi-kāval* of the villages.

Iṟaiyili.

The term *iṟaiyili* (tax-free) so often met with in the epigraphy of the period does not appear to have always meant absolute immunity from all taxes and dues. The nature and extent of the immunity granted was apparently defined in each individual case, the use of the term in respect of any land simply meaning that there were some such immunities to be taken account of in the particular case. This is seen not only from the mention in some inscriptions of an impost called *iṟaiyili-kāśu,* meaning perhaps *kāśu* due from iṟaiyili-lands,[70a] but from an explicit record of the time of Rājarāja I from Tiruppānmalai in the North Arcot District.[71] From this it becomes clear that

[68]243 of 1929; 177 of 1906; 16 of 1903; 244 of 1901 etc.

[69]157 of 1902.

[70]502 of 1904. The term *śiṟu-pāḍi-kāval* occurs in 199 of 1912 and 421 of 1922.

[70a]168 of 1923 from Uttaramērūr states that on some lands no *iṟaiyilik-kāśu* would be collected for the current year and five *kāśus* would be collected under this head for every subsequent year.

[71]19 of 1890. *EI.* iv, pp. 137-140. Venkayya seems to me to miss the point that the temple paid certain taxes on its *iṟaiyili* lands before, and was freed from them in the manner recorded in this inscription.

the village Kūṟakam-pāḍi was an *iṟaiyili-paḷḷic-candam* in the enjoyment (*bhōgam*) of the Jaina temple in Tiruppānmalai. The Ilāḍa chieftains ruling in the area before the eighth year of Rājarāja, the date of the inscription, levied the *kaṟpūravilai* from the temple, and as a result the temple did not have enough for its expenses;[72] the wife of the Ilāḍa chieftain Vīra Śōḷa drew his attention to this fact when they went together to worship in the temple, and he agreed thenceforth to cease collecting the *kaṟpūra-vilai,* and another cess, called *anniyāya-vāva-daṇḍa-iṟai,* of which the exact nature is by no means certain.[73] An inscription of the reign of Rājarāja III from Tirukkaḍaiyūr[74] furnishes evidence that even *iṟaiyili* lands had to make periodical payments of lump sums on a lower scale than usual for the renewal of their *iṟaiyili status—iṟaiyili variśaip-paḍi-iṟai-mudaṟ-kāśu taṇḍakkaḍavadāna-paḍi-tavira.* The lands dealt with in this record are described as *kāśu koḷḷā ūr-kīḻ-iṟaiyili.*

Again, as noticed already, the term *ūr-kīḻ-iṟaiyili* suggests that the *ūr* made itself responsible for the dues thereon; another possibility is that the land so described was free from the payment of local taxes, but had to contribute to the central revenues like any other land.

[72]The text is: *ittarmam-keṭṭu-ppōgiṟadu.*

[73]Venkayya suggests two meanings: tax on unauthorised looms or on quivers (ibid).

[74]245 of 1925. This is treated as an exemption from *iṟai-kāval* in *ARE.* 1925, App. B.

Non-taxable land.

The Tanjore inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja I make it clear that in each village some land was absolutely exempt from all taxes and imposts. Such lands included the sites occupied by the *ūr-nattam* (i.e. the residential part of the village), the temples, tanks, the channels passing through the village, the *paṟaiccēri* (the hamlet of the pariahs), the *kammāṇaccēri* (the artisans' quarters) and the burning ground (*śuḍu-kāḍu*).[75] The total extent of such areas is stated and subtracted from the gross area of the village in order to ascertain the net area of taxable land. The existence of different grades of *iṟaiyili* lands with varying degrees of immunity enjoyed by them is thus clearly established.

A late Cōḷa inscription from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr,[76] dated A.D. 1223, records the fact that some lands which were treated as *iṟangal* were, on enquiry, found to be only *nīngal* and that, consequently, they had to pay into the treasury of the temple a considerable number of taxes and dues which had so far not been collected. It is clear that the term *iṟangal* means exemption (from taxes) while *nīngal* implies only that the taxes were removed from the state revenue registers because they had been transferred to some other agency for its own use.[77] Again, some cultivable land which was lying unclaimed

[75] *SII.* ii, 4, para 1. Among the boundaries of some land in Tiruveṇkāḍu we find 'the path along which corpses are taken'. (502 of 1918).

[76] 199 of 1912. This record mentions a tax (*uḍamai*) on dyers (*śivapputtōyppār*). It names several taxes and dues and shows that these varied according to the crops raised. It also mentions *ariśi-kāśu* on salt pans.

[77] Sewell, *HISI*, p. 136, n. 2.

(*paṟṟili*) was assigned in 1233 by the *sabhā* of Talaic-cangāḍu as *iṟaiyili dēvadāna* to three Śiva temples of the locality; the gift contained the provision that if the land was not entered as *iṟaiyili* in the *oḻugu* and *pottagam,* title-deed and register, but only as *tirappu,* open (to assessment), the *iṟai* on the land was to be borne by the inhabitants of the village.[78] Evidently the record was engraved when the status of the land had not been finally decided; the assembly had evidently taken steps to secure *iṟaiyili* status for the land from the central government; but they also provided against the contingency of their efforts proving unsuccessful. Records like this give us a casual glimpse of the relations between local and central authorities.

Incidence of the tax system.

(To estimate the incidence of so complex a system of taxes and dues, central and local, compulsory and optional, modified by partial and total remissions of various types would always be a difficult task; and in the actual state of our evidence, utterly impossible. The pressure of taxation in different localities must have varied with the number and rates of the local cesses added by local authorities to the tax system imposed by the central government which may be presumed to have been more or less uniform as between different provinces. Then, the wide-spread practice of assigning revenues to members of the official nobility, to feudatory chieftains, to temples and so on, introduced a new factor; not all of these agencies could have

[78] 206 of 1925.

adopted equally rigorous methods of exacting their dues. An appeal to the centre against local excesses, and in the last resort, migration from the locality when it was possible were the only remedies open; and it is hard to believe that the utmost vigilance even of an efficient bureaucracy could have done much to ensure a uniformity of practice among such diverse agencies of tax-collection. Instances are not altogether lacking of oppressive methods adopted in the process of collecting taxes and other dues; the *sabhā* of *brahmadēyam* Mahēndramangalam have left on record[79] the fact that in A.D. 1001 the military (*paḍaiyilār*) subjected them to such suffering (*vēdanai*) putting them in water and standing them in the sun, that, unable to bear the treatment, they proceeded to Tañjāvūr with an escort to lay the matter before Rājarāja-Mahārāja; and that the king remitted the matter again to local officers. Supporting the man on the spot is evidently not so modern a device in administration as we are apt to think; though incomplete, the inscription seems to record the enforcement of the original order without any modification being effected. In the village of Jambai, an officer demanded some tax from a woman in the third year of Rājēndra II;[80] when she denied her liability the officer did something[81] which forced

Processes of tax-collection.

[79] 159 of 1895. In this case the *sabhā* appears to have suffered for the default of an accountant who had a *kāṇi* in the village.

[80] 80 of 1906.

[81] The officer's action on her denying that she was liable to pay the tax is expressed in the words: *avaḷai koccai-vikka*. *ARE*. 1907 II, 42 suggests that this means he put her through an ordeal. 'Koccai' means '*iḻivu*', humiliation.

her to commit suicide by taking poison. The officer had to expiate the crime by endowing a lamp of 32 *kāśus.*)

(While thus, in the early period of imperial Cōḷa rule, the rigour of collection occasionally tended to become oppressive in character, the people were exposed, in later times, to another danger. This arose from the increasing autonomy of local chieftains who were no longer restrained by a powerful central government and often resorted to oppressive fiscal methods.) An inscription from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr,[82] dated A.D. 1213, records in detail a painful episode, possibly typical of several unrecorded occurrences of the period. A Yādavarāya chieftain either imposed a new tax or revised the assessment under an old head of revenue—the name of the tax involved is *pon-vari*—and levied a rate of one-fourth *māḍai* on each *vēli* of arable land; he did not allow the usual exemptions in favour of deserted or decadent townships, but insisted on all the villages and townships of the *nāḍu,* whatever their condition, paying the full measure of the dues. The tax-gatherer appointed by the Yādavarāya came round to Punnaivāyil; and after collecting as much of the tax as he could, he caught hold of the members of the local *sabhā* and bound and imprisoned them; the members of the *sabhā* thereupon proceeded to sell away 80 vēlis of the cultivable land of the village together with part of its residential area for a sum of two hundred *paḷaṅ-gāśus* in order to meet the balance of the oppressive

[82] 202 of 1912.

impost. It is significant that the man who bought the land at once transferred it to the temple of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, ear-marking it for certain specified purposes, religious and educational; this was obviously because of a sentimental dislike to use for one's own private benefit property acquired under such distressing conditions. Virtually, therefore, it comes to this: that a generous nobleman came to the rescue of the oppressed *sabhā*, and saw to it that though the village became distinctly poorer on account of the new impost, the loss it sustained was just made tolerable to it, as it led to a definite increase in the social amenities available in the neighbourhood. In the years 1238 and 1239, we have records[83] from Mannārguḍi, in the heart of the Tanjore district, stating in unmistakable terms the oppressive and vexatious nature of the imposts levied on the people by all and sundry authorities and the consequent resolution taken by them to abandon all cultivation until conditions improved. The language employed is very clear and furnishes an eloquent testimony to the internal condition of the Cōḷa kingdom in its decay: *palarum kai vandapaḍi taṇḍik-koḷgaiyālē engaḷukkut-tarippaṟudiyālē,* 'as it has become difficult for us to sustain ourselves on account of the arbitrary imposts exacted by several (persons).' These complaints from the people were heard by the *sabhā* of Mannārguḍi met together with the assemblies of five adjacent *nāḍus,* and the meeting resolved to authorise the people to pay only the legitimate dues that were then recorded in detail and to resist

[83] 96, 98, 104 of 1897.

all other demands in excess of the standard laid down by that meeting. It should be noted, however, that considering the extent of space and time covered by these inscriptions, the instances of the employment of such oppressive methods are remarkably few indeed. It should also be noted that protests against unusual levies and successful attempts on the part of the people to resist them by codifying the standard of normal fiscal practice are not unknown. An inscription[84] of the third year of Kulōttunga I from the Mysore territory is very interesting in this connection. The inscription is a record of the *periya-viṣaiyam,* the Great Assemblage. It opens by saying that since the race of Cōḷa rulers began, no tax had been laid on cows and she-buffaloes in all the territory comprising the 78 *nāḍus* of Nigarili-śōḷa-maṇḍala, the 48,000 *pūmi* of Jayangoṇḍa-śōḷa-maṇḍalam, the Rājēndraśōḷap-padineṇ-pūmi assigned to the Valangai-mahāsēnai of the Great Army, and that consequently, the new levy on cows and she-buffaloes introduced by Adigārigaḷ Śōḷa-mūvēnda-vēḷār need not be paid. Again the government share (*mēlvāram*) was specified as one-fifth of the produce of forest tracts and dry crop lands, and one-third of that of rice lands under a tank. Further, the rate of tax on the cultivation of hill-tracts by hill-tribes (*vēḍar*) was to be one cloth (*puḍavai*) for 1500 *kuḻis;* the record also laid down the rates for all other miscellaneous dues and services, and concluded by specifying the length of the measuring rod to be employed in land measurements.

[84] 464 of 1911=*EC.* x. Mb. 49 (a); see p. xxviii—*ibid.*

We have not many recorded instances of such popular attempts to fix the scale of customary taxes and dues to government; and such attempts might not have always restrained a self-willed and autocratic ruler or chieftain; but that they were made, and that in the popular consciousness there was a clear limit to the taxing power of government—these are facts of some significance and must be noted in any account of Cōḷa polity.

The methods of collection, however, clearly included distraint and sale of land for arrears in payment; such sales were public in character and called after the king in whose reign they took place. In a Rājēndrap-peruvilai, for instance, the assembly of Ariñjigai-caturvēdimangalam came by some land, as the three sons of Nārāyaṇa-kramavittan had migrated elsewhere and not paid the dues on the land for a period of about fifteen years.[85] Rājarāja's order against the Kāṇi-Uḍaiyār (service-tenants) of particular classes of villages in the Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Toṇḍai countries, which has been discussed above, also sanctions confiscation and sale of land for arrears of *ūr-iḍu-varippāḍu*.

The *ūr* of Tirukkāccūr (Chingleput district) suffered from a failure of harvest, and finding it difficult to pay the taxes, they resorted to raising a loan from a nobleman in the neighbourhood; they did not repay the sum, perhaps they could not, but allowed him to bring under cultivation some of the waste land belonging to the village, and then, in lieu of the interest on the loan they undertook to pay the taxes on the land

[85] 189 of 1914.

newly brought under the plough.[86] A similar instance of crop-failure due to scarcity of water in a village in the Tanjore district is met by a reduction of the area under wet crop from A.D. 1160, the local temple being required to convert some land into a betel garden so as to relieve the pressure on the water-resources of the village;[87] the temple also advanced some money, and got the land in question declared a *kāśu-koḷḷā-iṟaiyili*.

Instances are by no means wanting, from the later Cōḷa period, of land tax being realised, in the last resort, by the sale of the defaulters' lands. Some Brahmin tenants of Vānavanmādēvi-caturvēdimangalam (Tiruccirai) in the Tanjore district, unable to pay the taxes, had abandoned their lands and left the village, and these lands were sold to a neighbouring temple in 1117;[88] it is not clear whether the inability of the deserters to pay the taxes was due to heavy assessment or irregular collection resulting in an accumulation of heavy arrears; the *sabhā* of the village conducted the sale, and this favours the later assumption. Two years later, a very similar instance of desertion and sale is recorded in Kōnērirājapuram, also in the Tanjore district;[89] in this case, it was clearly the tenants who deliberately defaulted; there was no accumulation of arrears, for only the taxes of the forty-ninth regnal year, the year of the record, were involved; and the village assembly was required by a letter from the

[86] 274 of 1909.
[87] 191 of 1925.
[88] 620 of 1909.
[89] 647 of 1909.

revenue officers of the king to sell the lands and realise the tax dues. It looks as if an attempt was made to enforce more regular collections.

In the fifth year of Vikramacōḷa, *the mahāsabhā* of Karikāla-cōḷa-caturvedimangalam resolved to fulfil their responsibilities in regard to land-revenue due from persons who were unable to pay the taxes and from those who had emigrated elsewhere, by selling their lands in *sabhai-vilai,* public sale by order of the *sabhā,* or by making them *iṟaiyili dēvadānas* and, of course, getting the money equivalent from the temple treasury.[90]

An inscription of Vikramacōḷa's reign from Uṭṭattūr, (Trichinopoly district) is interesting in many ways.[91] It records that a person, in possession of a *kāṇi* (landed estate) which he had bought, was unable to meet the tax dues thereon; the *sabhā* of Śrīkaṇṭha-caturvēdimangalam, where his land was situated, took the matter up. Meanwhile, he was found guilty of a minor offence in the temple and sentenced to a fine of 20 *kāśus.* His lands were sold, and the taxes and fine realised from the proceeds. These incidents seem to be recalled several years later in an inscription from the same place,[92] dated 1199, which states that the land had

[90] 4 of 1914.

[91] 512 of 1912.

[92] 490 of 1912. It should be noted, however, that there is a discrepancy between the *śiṟu aparādam* of the earlier inscription and the theft of jewels of the later record; one wonders if that could be called a minor offence. Again, the earlier record mentions only a fine of 20 *kāśus* for the offence in the temple, and says nothing about the confiscation of the house and servants. It may be that the same person committed a second offence and lost the house and servants in consequence, these being all that were left to him after his lands had been sold on the prior occasion.

originally been held by a Brahmin who, having stolen the jewels of the goddess, was compelled to give it up along with his house in the *nattam* and his slaves (*nattamanaiyum aḍimaiyum*) as *dēvadāna.*

Even a temple had occasionally to sell its land to be able to meet the revenue dues on its estates; an instance of this is recorded in Śāḷuvankuppam near Māmallapuram, about A.D. 1215.[93] On the other hand, the temples collected the dues owing to them from their tenants by distraining and, if necessary, selling their possessions with the king's sanction.[94]

Social expenditure.

No account of the financial aspect of Cōḷa administration can be complete which omits to lay stress on the extent to which the excesses to which the system was liable corrected themselves more or less automatically by the social uses to which wealth was put. Hoarding was by no means unknown, especially on the part of kings and temples; but there was much spending also, and in the conditions of mediaeval life the opportunities for extravagant and wasteful expenditure of an anti-social character were much fewer than at the present day. No great gulf separated the personal habits of the rich magnate and his poorer neighbours. The rich had to seek distinction by competing in the service of the gods and of the poor. To build a temple or endow a *maṭha,* to attach a school or a hospital to either, to reclaim

[93] 57 of 1890.
[94] 264 of 1911.

land and to promote irrigation,—such were the most common roads to social eminence and public recognition. The temples which by their hoards tempted the cupidity of the foreign invader at a later day, were, at this period, the mainstay of the people and their refuge in times of physical and financial distress. They constituted a sort of reserve bank with branches in every village which absorbed and retained the surplus wealth of the community in normal times, and released it for use in seasons of financial stringency, and was ever ready to help the community to turn a sharp corner. A destructive flood, or prolonged drought might have wrought far more permanent damage to the economy of a locality if it were not for the assistance its people derived from the resources of the temple accumulated by the piety and industry of generations of their ancestors. The king, the nobles and the temples drew largely in various ways upon the products of the industry of the common people; but much of this wealth was returned to them in ways that greatly advanced their common good. It was a wonderful social harmony based, not on equality of classes or individuals, but on a readiness to give and take, a mutual good will that had its roots deep down at the foundations of communal life.

CHAPTER XX

POPULATION : SOCIAL DIVISIONS : STANDARD OF LIFE

General aspect of Society.

Caste was the basis of social organisation and many examples of caste organisations have been incidentally passed under review in the course of our study of social and economic life. Each caste was more or less a hereditary occupational group with an active organisation for the regulation and protection of its economic and social interests; and the Indian society of those days is best conceived as a loose federation of strong self-regulating groups which shared a common background of social rights and obligations which made for mutual understanding and accommodation. There is practically no evidence of ugly social conflicts and jealousies such as those between the right-hand and left-hand castes, or between brahmins and non-brahmins of more recent times. The general impression derived is one of social harmony, removed alike from the placid content which knows no ambition and the blind and ruthless pursuit of class-interests.

Social freedom.

There was on the whole greater social freedom, especially among the upper classes, than is now found in rural areas, and heredity was not always a bar to a person changing his occupation and his group-relations with it. This is clear from the fact that the Brahmins who took

to trade at Eṇṇāyiram were counted along with the Vaḷañjiya merchants of the South bazaar of Eṇṇāyiram in one common group.[1]) These were exceptions, and the Brahmins as a class were still devoted to their time-honoured ideals of spiritual culture and plain living, and commanded the voluntary homage of the other classes, as may be seen from the numberless endowments in their favour made in all parts of the country and by all classes without distinction.

Population.

We lack all means of reaching a reliable conclusion on the important question of the numbers of the population. There is not even a passable guess on this subject in any of our records, Indian or foreign. And it seems never to have occurred to a government, which was very strict about maintaining a very minute record of land rights for its revenue purposes, that it might order a periodical census of the population under its control; for it is extremely unlikely that if such a practice had existed, we should have heard nothing of it in the thousands of inscriptions to which we owe practically all our knowledge of the organisation and working of the government in those days. We are therefore driven to depend solely on rather vague personal impressions derived from a study of the records of the age. It is remarkable that most of the villages and towns known to us now are mentioned with almost the same names in the inscriptions; some of them, like Uttaramērūr in Chingleput,

[1] 343 of 1917.

Śendalai and Tiruviḍaimarudūr in Tanjore, Tiruveṟumbūr and Lālguḍi in Trichinopoly,[2] and others that could be named in the Madura and Tinnevelly districts, were clearly more populous and flourishing than the places that now go by those names. On the other hand, there is no evidence that the larger cities were not quite as large as the average Indian city of to-day, very large modern centres like Madras, and perhaps Madura and Trichinopoly, excepted. The average administrative unit in charge of one officer of the central government was more or less of the same size as the modern Taluq; but it may also be that the size of the Taluq is itself the result of an ancient administrative tradition. The evidence on the state of agriculture, industry and trade, on the army and navy, and on the amount of labour and resources applied to the erection of public works of a useful as well as ornamental nature also tells in favour of our postulating a numerous and busy population. Internal peace was on the whole well-maintained; and there was no great difference between now and then in the ideas relating to marriage or the standard of life. There cannot be the slightest doubt that under the Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line, Southern India was vastly more populous and that social life had become far more complex than in the Śangam Age. It seems equally clear that the numbers of the people could not have been anywhere near what they are now

[2]An inscription of 1219 A.D. from Tuṟaiyūr (Trichinopoly district) mentions the *ūr-madil* (town-wall), and *puḻakkaḍai-madil* (wall at the backs of houses), an indication that towns and houses were sometimes walled for safety. (701 of 1909).

after more than a century of *pax Britannica*. We may imagine that we may find a parallel in this respect immediately before the establishment of British rule, say about the end of the eighteenth century.

Co-operation among classes.

Caste- and group-life formed no hindrance to social co-operation for common ends. The manner in which the burden of maintaining the services in a temple and the cost of feeding ten Brahmins regularly were shared by all the groups residing at Talaiccangāḍu[3] at the instance of the *mūlaparuḍai* (of the temple) is typical of their readiness to recognise a public interest and co-operate in its pursuit. Signs of exclusiveness and class-rivalry are not altogether wanting, but these tendencies were apparently well under control. Brahmins evinced a desire not only to live in separate rural communities with *sabhās* of their own, but as far as possible to exclude other castes from ownership of land in their villages; in both these respects, their attitude seems to have had the general approval of the government and the people.[4]

Special privileges.

Other classes also succeeded in obtaining special exemptions and privileges for themselves. The *veḷḷālas* of Kunṟa-Vattanakkōṭṭam gained exemptions from certain local dues in the reign of Rājarāja I;[5] the artisans (*śilpis*) of the Ōvikula of Kāñcī had apparently the privilege of engraving the important copper-plate

[3]198 of 1925.
[4]46 of 1897; 311 of 1911.
[5]375 of 1911.

grants of the king in the reign of Rājēndra,[6] just as weavers of Kāñcī were the makers of royal robes in Uttama Cōḷa's reign.[7] On the other hand there were restrictions placed on the activities of some sections of

Restrictions.

the populace. In the *dēvadāna* of Paḷaiyanūr, the *Iḷavas* were not to tap cocoanut and palmyra palms for toddy.[8] Apart from such exceptional privileges and disabilities which formed the subject of regulation by specific agreements, the place and duties of each class in society were largely a matter of ancient custom which doubtless underwent slow and imperceptible modification under the stress of new circumstances. The economic bonds which united the members of each profession or caste come prominently into view in the arrangements recorded in inscriptions. The principle of collective responsibility was commonly observed, and even a sort of frank-pledge by which the group guaranteed the proper conduct of each of its members was not unknown.[9]

Mixed castes.

Some curious instances of mixed castes and their duties are recorded in the inscriptions; these show that the theories of mixed castes, *anulōma* and *pratilōma*, were not the purely fanciful concepts of law-givers that we generally take them to be; either they had some basis in the facts of social life, or what is perhaps more likely,

[6] Tiruvālangāḍu Plates ll. 517-24. The Anbil plates were engraved by a single worker Vīra Cōḷa takṣan. Leyden grant ll. 107 ff.

[7] Museum Plates l. 10.

[8] Tiruvālangāḍu Plates, l. 456.

[9] 197 of 1923; *SII.* ii, p. 251; *TAS*. v. pp. 29-30.

particular sections of the population began to pin their faith to particular sections of what was originally a mythical scheme. At any rate it is difficult to believe that the scheme of the four original *varṇas* ever conformed to the facts of South Indian social life; even less credible are the theories of particular castes arising from mixed unions of particular types. Towards the close of the reign of Kulōttunga I, the *bhaṭṭas* of Rājāśraya-caturvēdimangalam consulted the *śāstras* and laid down the professions to be followed by the *anulōma* caste of Rathakāras, viz. architecture, coach- and chariot-building, the erection of *gōpuras* with icons on them and of *maṇḍapas*, the manufacture of sacrificial instruments and so on.[10] It is to be noted that the decision here recorded is in close conformity with the views of Vijñānēśvara, the contemporary jurist and author of the *Mitākṣarā*, the celebrated commentary on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*. From an inscription dated 1169, the class of Rathakāras is seen to have included blacksmiths, goldsmiths and stone masons, besides carpenters.[11] Two inscriptions of the reign of Vikramacōḷa give accounts of a class of *utkṛṣṭa-āyōgavas* or *paṭṭinavans* which do not seem to fit in so easily with the extant legal texts, at any rate, not with the *Mitākṣarā*. The two inscriptions differ from each other and from Yājñavalkya with regard to the origin of this class; the *smṛti* makes them children of Vaiśya women and Śūdra men; one of the inscriptions calls

[10] 479 of 1908. *ARE*. 1909, II, 45. Also the *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya I, 95.

[11] 189 of 1925.

them children of Brahma-Vaiśva, whatever that may mean,[12] while the second inscription quotes a Sanskrit verse which says that an *āyogava* is born of the union of a kṣatriya woman with a vaiśya;[13] on the whole they seem to have been accepted as a *pratilōma* caste. Their profession was weaving, and it was their privilege to supply fresh cloth for *upanayana* and other domestic ceremonies, for *dhvaja-paṭas* to the temples during festivals and generally to supply all things made of yarn and required by gods, brahmins, and kings. In 1127, some families of this caste accepted some *iṟaiyili* land at Tribhuvani and in return undertook to supply cloths to the local temple on specified occasions and in stated quantities; they authorised the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas of the temple to surround (their dwellings), to imprison them, and take all steps necessary to force them to keep the engagement if they were in default.[14] In the very next year, 1128, twenty families of this class migrated from five different villages to Tirukkaṇṇapuram to settle there and accept service in the *brahmadēya* village and its temple; the terms of their settlement being placed under the protection of *mahāsabhai ēḻuim-badinar*, the *Mahāsabhā* 350, and the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas of the eighteen *nāḍus*.[15]

Inscriptions from Karuvūr and Pērūr contain records of privileges accorded to *Kanmāḷar* stone

[12] 208 of 1919. The statement in *ARE.* that they were the offspring of Brahmins and Vaiśya women seems unwarranted.

[13] 508 of 1922.

[14] 208 of 1919.

[15] 508 of 1922.

masons, of Vengala-nāḍu and Ten-kongu, and to other artisans elsewhere.[16] These privileges were granted by a Cōḷa monarch whose identity could not be made out as he is described only as Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān. The privileges were: the blowing of two conches, the beating of drums and so on at domestic occurrences, good or bad; the use of sandals when they went out of their homes; and the plastering of the walls of their residences with lime plaster. The construction of houses with two storeys and with double doors is also mentioned together with the right to decorate the front of their houses with garlands of water-lilies.[17]

Right and Left hand classes.

No picture of the social divisions in South India under the Cōḷas will be complete without a reference to the broad division of the industrial population of the country into the Right-Hand and Left-Hand, *Valangai* and *Iḍangai* divisions. The quarrels among these divisions often threatened to fill the streets of Madras with blood in the days of the East India Company. The origin of this division is unknown.[18] Legend ascribes it to the design of Karikāla Cōḷa and also, with more plausibility, to a famous occasion when the two sections of the population laid their disputes before a Cōḷa king, one party standing on the right hand side of the monarch, the other taking a position on the left.[19] Several regiments of

[16] 66 of 1890, (*SII*. iii, 25); 562 of 1893; *ARE*. 1905, II, 43.

[17] 136 of 1905.

[18] M. Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Tamil Studies*: pp. 100 ff.

[19] *ARE*. 1921, II, 47.

the army were counted as of the *Valangai* in the reign of Rājarāja I,[20] and this section is also mentioned in an inscription of the third year of Rājēndra I from Tiruviśalūr.[21] There is a curious inscription of the reign of Kulōttunga III which gives the earliest account so far known of the beliefs of the *Iḍangai* classes regarding their origin.[22] They claimed to have been created from the *agnikuṇḍa* (fire-pit) for the protection of the sacrifice of Kaśyapa, and to have settled in the Cōḷa country in the time of the emperor Arindama; this emperor imported a large colony of holy Brahmans from Antarvēdi, and the *Iḍangai* classes accompanied these Brahman colonists as the bearers of their slippers and their umbrellas. They got some lands in five villages, all of them now in the Trichinopoly district, and had long lost the memory of their origin when they recovered it about A.D. 1128. They then entered into a compact among themselves to the effect that they should thenceforth behave like sons of the same parents. "If anything derogatory happens to the *Iḍangai* class, we will jointly assert our rights till we establish them. It is also understood that only those who, during their congregational meetings to settle communal disputes, display the *birudas* of horn, bugle and parasol shall belong to our class. Those who have to recognise us now and hereafter, in public, must do so from our distinguishing symbols—the feather of the crane and the loose-hanging hair. The horn and the conch-shell shall also be

[20] *SII.* ii, Intro. p. 10.
[21] 341 of 1907.
[22] 489 of 1912; *ARE.* 1913, II, 39.

sounded in front of us and the bugle blown according to the fashion obtaining among the *Iḍangai* people. Those who act in contravention to these rules shall be treated as the enemies of our class. Those who behave differently from the rules (thus) prescribed for the conduct of *Iḍangai* classes shall be excommunicated and shall not be recognised as *Śrutimāns*. They will be considered slaves of the classes who are opposed to us." This record was engraved at Uṭṭattūr and Tiruppaññili by the Śrutimāns of the area. The ninety-eight sub-sects of the *Iḍangai* are again mentioned in a later inscription from Āḍuturai,[23] which records the hardships to which these sub-sects were exposed at the hands of the Vanniya tenants and the Brāhmaṇa and Veḷḷāḷa landlords, backed by government officials. Such are the beginnings of an obscure, but deep-seated antagonism between two sections of the populace which often burst into open hostilities in later days. At Kāñcīpuram the *Valangai* and *Iḍangai* sects would not worship in the same temple, or use the same pavilion (*maṇḍapa*) for religious purposes,[24] and the division affected even the class of courtesans and dancing girls.[25]

Personal names.

Names of individuals very often gave little indication of their social status. Thus Ariñjimādēvaḍigaḷ, for example, was not, as her name might lead one to suppose, a

[23] 34 of 1913.

[24] *ARE*. 1921, II, 47.

[25] The real history of the division between the right hand and left hand sections of society may indeed date from a much earlier time than we suspect or even the *Śrutimāns* of the reign of Kulōttunga III believed. A Chinese author of the 3rd century, cited by another in the 10th, says of Fu-nan: "Les regions vassales ont toutes leurs mandarins; *les grands officiers de droite et de gauche du souverain* s'appallent tous *K'ouen-louen*". P. Pelliot, *Le Fou-nan*, *BEFEO*, iii, p. 282; also vii. pp. 316-17 for the same feature in Campā.

queen herself, but only a queen's maid (*peṇḍāṭṭi*); and her daughter, who lived in concubinage with a certain Arumoḻidēvan, bore the name Bhaṭṭan Gandarādittī.[26] Numerical names like Munnūṟṟuvan, Īrāyiravan and so on were apparently borne by members of all classes.

Women. Women were placed under no restraints in their social life and activities, though modesty was considered the highest among their graces. The inscriptions give many examples of women of the upper classes owning property in their own right and disposing of it as they chose. The influence exerted by some of the princesses of the royal family on the public policy of ruling princes has already been noticed. Though kings and nobles indulged in a plurality of wives, the monogamous family was doubtless the normal unit of social life. The employment of female labour in the less skilled occupations was perhaps quite as common as at present.

Sati not common. Sati or the self-immolation of a woman on the funeral pyre of her husband is occasionally mentioned in the inscriptions, but the references are so few that it can hardly be regarded as a common practice in the Tamil country under the Cōḷas. Gangamādēviyār, the wife of Vīra-śōḷa Iḷangōvēḷār, is said to have endowed a lamp before she entered the fire;[27] this was perhaps early in the reign of Parāntaka I. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates[28]

[26] 235 of 1926.
[27] 376 of 1903.
[28] vv. 65-66.

mention the case of Vānavan-mahādēvi, the queen of Sundara-cōḷa, recorded in more detail in an earlier Tamil inscription of the reign of her celebrated son Rājarāja I.[29] The language of these inscriptions, together with the absence of any other instance of a Cōḷa queen practising *sati*, shows that the action of Vānavan-mahādēvi was indeed applauded, but not often imitated. Three instances of women from among the nobility and the common folk committing *sati* come from the Mysore country. In 1057, a man killed a relative of the king in a wrestling contest, and was sentenced to death; his wife, Dekabbe, the daughter of a chieftain of Nunganāḍ, followed him in spite of violent opposition from her parents, and the whole story is recorded in the form of a pathetic Kanarese poem in the Kāvya style.[30] The two remaining instances occurred in 1067 and 1068, one of them being just recorded as a fact,[31] while the other is mentioned incidentally in an endowment of a charity by the son of the deceased couple for their spiritual benefit.[32] A reverse instance of a father commemorating the death of his son and daughter-in-law who committed *sati* also occurs in the Mysore country in 1088 A.D.[33] Nothing can more truly illustrate the tragic conflict of feelings in a mind torn between the dread of physical suffering and the eagerness to live up to an inhuman standard of duty than the pathetic declaration of a woman, recorded in an inscription of the reign of

[29] 236 of 1902.
[30] 141 of 1898; *EC.* iv, Hg. 18; *EI.* vi, pp. 213-9.
[31] 174 of 1911; *EC.* ix, Dv. 14.
[32] 188 of 1911; *EC.* x, Ct. 161.
[33] 499 of 1911; *EC.* iv, Hg. 100.

Vīrarājēndra from South Arcot; she avers that if she lived after the death of her husband, she should become the slave of the other wives of her husband and utters imprecations against those who seek to persuade her to refrain from immolating herself, nay even against people who do not come forward to bind and throw her into the fire, imprecations too shocking to be transcribed here.[34] Such a record could be only understood to indicate the prevalence of an atmosphere normally unfavourable to the practising of *sati*.

Courtesans.

The class of courtesans has always held a considerable place in Indian society. From prehistoric times the nautch-girl has been a great social attraction. Her public appearances were usually associated with religious festivals and she was generally an expert in music and the dance. She mixed freely with men and was under no obligation to observe the restraints imposed on matrons in their social intercourse. Her private company was given to select friends, and her choice was guided at least as much by sentimental and aesthetic as by mercenary motives. To judge by the evidence of literature and epigraphy, there is little to justify the squeamishness with which the institution is viewed by the 'social reformer' who derives his notions from the hideous traffic in helpless women and girls that has grown up in large modern cities. At her best the courtesan led a life of cultured ease and pleasure, and, like her Greek cousin, the hetaera, provided amusement and intellectual com-

[34] 156 of 1906; *ARE*. 1907, II, 41.

panionship to those who could afford the luxury; at her worst she was a temple-drudge who, when she consented to serve a passing stranger, still believed that she was performing an act of worship. The testimony of Muhammadan writers is clear and unanimous that the earnings of the courtesans attached to temples were surrendered into the hands of the priests or other authorities of the temple for defraying the expenses of worship.[35] As these writers, however, were prone to repeat uncritically statements made by their predecessors, we should be slow to accept their evidence, which is not confirmed by indigenous sources.

The social standing of courtesans in the ancient Cōḷa country is clearly indicated by the numerous records registering rich endowments made by them for various public benefactions and the recognition afforded by local powers to their public spirit; in a record from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, dated A.D. 1049, a certain *dēvaraḍiyāḷ* (courtesan), Caturaḷ Caturi, by name, is also described as the wife (*ahamuḍaiyāḷ*) of a citizen, Nāgan Perungāḍan.[36] The marriage of another dancing-girl belonging to a temple in the Tanjore district is recorded in an inscription of the reign of Kulōttunga III.[37]

Slavery.

That a considerable element in the population, especially among agricultural labourers, lived in a condition not far from slavery is clear from the literature of the age. There are

[35] Abu Zayd, in Ferrand *Voyage*, p. 124.
[36] 147 of 1912.
[37] 411 of 1925.

several inscriptions which show that the most odious form of private property, property in human beings, signalized by their being bought and sold by others irrespective of their own wishes, was not unknown. Free men and women fell into slavery for various reasons, and it would appear that there were several grades among slaves. Most of the sales recorded in the inscriptions are sales of persons to temples. Sometimes they are voluntary; two ladies sold themselves and their dependents and relatives to a temple in the Tanjore district;[38] in these instances, the religious motive must have been more dominant than the economic. But when six persons are sold to the same temple in the same year for thirteen *kāśus* by another person, neither the voluntary nor the religious character of the transaction is so apparent.[39] There is another sale of eight persons recorded in the same place some years before, the price not being stated.[40] All these inscriptions are dated in the regnal years of some unknown Cōḷa king. Another record of the reign of Rājarāja I from Tiruvaḍandai (Chingleput), dated in the seventeenth regnal year, A.D. 1002, states that twelve families of fisherman (*paṭṭinavar*) were dedicated to the temple of Śrī Varāha Dēva at the instance of two officials serving in the locality as *nāḍu-kaṇkāṭci* and *nāḍu-vagai*; the families of the twelve persons named had each to pay, out of their income from weaving and fishing, ¾ *kaḻañju*

[38] 218 of 1925 (seven persons for thirty *kāśus*); 219 of 1925 (fifteen persons for the same amount). *ARE*. 1925, II, 18.

[39] 217 of 1925.

[40] 216 of 1925.

of gold, and to assist in the celebration of two annual festivals in the temple, one of them being of seven days' duration and ending with the day of Śadaiyam in the month of Āvaṇi, the day of the king's nativity. The *sabhā* and the *ūr* of Tiruvaḍandai undertook to hold them and their descendents strictly to their obligations.[41] The terms of this dedication are on the whole liberal and do not constitute slavery; they even included some privileges of the dedicated families such as the receipt of *prasādam* (food-offering) on the festival days. But the element of compulsion, the hereditary nature of the dedication, the part played by two officials of the state and the undertaking of the *sabhā* and *ūr* to enforce the terms, prove that the dozen families of *paṭṭinavar* would not have readily accepted the arrangements of their own choice. Kulōttunga I ordered in A.D. 1088 that some *dēvaradiyār* of the temple of Kāḷahasti who had been wrongly appropriated to the palace service should be restored to the temple; these persons had been stamped with the king's seal which was erased and the trident stamped on their bodies in token of their servitude to the temple.[42] At Tiruvallam, in 1119, one of the *villigaḷ*, (bowmen) of Bāṇapuram, dedicated some women of his family as *dēvaraḍiyār* after stamping them with the trident.[43] In the reign of Rājādhirāja II is recorded a sale, in A.D. 1175, of four women to the temple of

[41] 274 of 1910.

[42] 141 of 1922.

[43] 230 of 1921. It is not clear what process was adopted for impressing the mark (*ilaccinai*) on the skin. The words '*iṭṭu*' or '*śātti*' do not necessarily mean 'branding' as they are often rendered in the Epigraphical reports.

Tiruvālangāḍu for a sum of seven hundred *kāśus*.[44] As the term *kāśu* is applied to coins of varying value, it is not possible to compare the price recorded here with prices stated in some of the inscriptions cited above. An inscription[45] of somewhat uncertain date from Tiruvālangāḍu (Tanjore) mentions some facts which bring out the general prevalence of slavery and the treatment meted out to slaves. A certain Vayirādarāyar had a number of slaves, some belonging to him and others forming part of the dowries of his wives. With the consent of his wives, he sold some of these slaves to the local temple which purchased them for employment as slaves of a *maṭha* (*maḍa-aḍimaigaḷ*). In accordance with a sale deed, and a royal order (*rāja-sādana*), the *māhēśvaras* and the authorities of the temple recorded the transaction in a stone inscription, marked the slaves with the trident-mark, and resolved to assign specific duties to them and punish them suitably when they failed in their duty. The inscription then states that after some time some of the slaves defied the orders of the *sthānattār* of the temple and took to mischievous and roguish ways, and the matter was laid before a general assembly of the authorities of the temple and of the *maṭhas*. Their decision is not easy to make out owing to gaps in the record. In fact the slaves would have been more than human had they not chafed at their lot. And as slavery was not confined to temples, the idea that slaves consoled themselves by looking on their lives as dedicated to

[44] 80 of 1913.
[45] 94 of 1926.

the service of God can only have a limited range of application, if it had any at all.[46] There are also instances of slavery due directly to poverty; in times of famine, destitute persons escaped death by literally selling themselves and sometimes their unborn descendants for their keep. Only temples seem to have left records of this mode of accession to the numbers of their slaves; but we cannot be sure that rich and powerful individuals did not trade on the necessities of their less fortunate brethren.[47]

Wages and Prices.

Some idea of the economic condition of the different classes of labourers may be had by a review of the data on wages and prices yielded by the inscriptions.[48] No general statement on the standard of life of the people is possible; much less can we now trace the changes in the standards and tastes of the population.

[46] *ARE.* 1925, II, 18.

[47] Some of the other instances known may be briefly mentioned here: Sale by three Veḷḷāḷas of two women and their descendants as *dēvaraḍiyār* at Tiruvakkarai, South Arcot in 1099 (183 of 1904); a *dharmadāna* by a *mahārāya* of an *uvacca aḍimai* in the Tinnevelly district in 1105 (280 of 1928); the gift of two slaves for service in a *maṭha* in Drākṣārāma in 1113 (354 of 1893); lists of *aḍimais* belonging to the temple and *maṭha* in Kīḻaiyūr, Tanjore district, dated 1184 (74 and 76 of 1925); the large numbers of *maḍa-aḍimais* bought and given to the *maṭha* in Tiruvālangāḍu by a nobleman in the years 1198 and 1208 (91 and 90 of 1926); the case of a Veḷḷāḷa and his two daughters who sold themselves to the temple at Tiruppāmburam to escape starvation in 1201 (86 of 1911); and the sale by two accountants of a temple of number of women who were slaves forming part of their ancestral estate—*engaḷukku kramāgatamāy varuginṟa aḍiyār* (296 of 1911). Yet other instances are found in 499 of 1904 (Vēdāraṇyam, 1219 A.D.); 409 of 1925, a stone mason, his wife and four sons, (Acyutamangalam), 1219 A.D.; 223 of 1917, a host of over 100 male and female slaves of the temple, (Korukkai, 1235 A.D.).; 110 of 1892, same as 122 of 1912 (Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, 1235 A.D.); and 216, 217-219 of 1925 (Mēlapperumbaḷam, n-d.).

[48] See also *SII.*, ii, Intr. 17-8 for a discussion of the data from the Tanjore inscriptions.

The sources of our information are not sufficiently copious or precise to allow of such attempts being made with success. The permanent staff of village servants and others in the enjoyment of hereditary service-holdings are, of course, not included in the discussion which follows. So also the serfs and slaves are excluded.

The wages of common labour can be estimated from the following instances. The Madras Museum Plates of Uttama Cōḷa record a wage of one *kuṟuṇi* per day and two *kaḻañju* per annum for clothes for a watchman; and six *nāḻis* per day with half a *kaḻañju* per annum for a gardener. At Lālguḍi (Trichinopoly District), about A.D. 960, digging was done at the rate of fifty *kuḻis* per *kāśu*, each *kuḻi* being about 10 feet square by two feet and a half.[49] In the village of Kiḷiyanūr (South Arcot), the man appointed to sound the bugle for summoning the *sabhā* had, from A.D. 1001, a fixed wage (*nivandam*) of two meals a day at the cost of the village, besides the supply of such things required for his personal use as were sold in the village.[50] In 1018 A.D., the daily wage of a wood cutter at Nattam (Chingleput) was four *nāḻis* of paddy per day,[51] which was also the daily wage of a brahman cook.[52] The wage of a palanquin bearer at Tirumukkūḍal (Chingleput) was also four *nāḻis* of paddy in the reign of Rājēndra I.[53]

[49]104 of 1929. I have assumed that a *piḍi* is equal to 4″.

[50]156 of 1919.

[51]263 of 1912.

[52]267 of 1910, (Tiruvaḍandai). Same wage in 1115 A.D. (281 of 1910).

[53]175 of 1915: *Tiruppaḷḷiccivikaik-kāvalar* in the temple, possibly Vaiṣṇava brahmins.

This was obviously not a full day's wage, for we find that garden labour in the same place and about the same time commanded a wage of ten *nāḷis* per diem.[54] The same rate is given in a record of Rājādhirāja I as a sort of family wage for the same kind of labour.[55] For lifting water and irrigating gardens and fields, and for gathering flowers and other like operations, the wage of male labourers was eight *nāḷis* per day at Tiruvāmāttūr (South Arcot) in A.D. 1030; but women employed in making garlands and flowers were paid only at half the rate.[56] In the reign of Rājādhirāja I, however, the women servants employed in a feeding house at Tiruveṇkāḍu earned a wage of two *nāḷis* per day.[57] A man employed to supply drinking water in a public place at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr in 1077 was paid two *kāśus* per annum besides a daily wage of one *kuṟuni*.[58] The rather low wage of two *nāḷis* per day for a potter and for a fuel supplier at Kuḍumiyāmalai in 1213 was, no doubt, only remuneration for part-time work,[59] the men being free also to work and earn wages elsewhere.

Work that demanded some kind of skill or special equipment in the workman commanded correspondingly higher rates of wages. A certain Tiruvēḷ Aṟaiccākkai was remunerated at the rate of two *kalams* of paddy for each *kūttu*, some kind of operatic dance,

[54] 172 of 1915.

[55] 45 of 1925. The *tapasyar* who supplied water for *tirumañjanam* in the temple at Tiruvārūr had the same rate of remuneration, 671 of 1919 (A.D. 1094).

[56] 18 of 1922.

[57] 450 of 1918.

[58] 154 of 1912.

[59] 364 of 1906.

performed by him; and seven such performances were guaranteed to him in a year in one temple in the reign of Āditya II.[60] Possibly he was free to accept other engagements elsewhere. With this may be compared the permanent endowment of a house and one hundred *kalams* of paddy per annum for each of the four hundred dancing-girls settled by Rājarāja I round the big temple of Tanjore.[61] Three *kuṟuṇis* per day was the wage-rate fixed by the same monarch for each of the fifty persons of the choir established by him for singing *Tiruppadiyam* in the same temple.[62] The wages mentioned in another Tanjore inscription of the same monarch may also be noted:[63] each *māṇi* (*brahmacāri*) serving in the temple got one *padakku* (sixteen *nāḻis*) of paddy per day and four *kāśus* (two kaḻañjus) of gold per year;[64] ten among them who had vowed permanent service in the temple were to get an extra *kuṟuṇi* (eight *nāḻis*) of paddy per day; twenty others who apparently made garlands were to receive one *padakku* each per day and five *kāśus* per annum. An accountant received 200 *kalams* of paddy per annum, and his assistant seventy-five, which works out at 6⅔ *kuṟuṇis* and 2½ *kuṟuṇis* respectively for a day. An accountant of another, perhaps smaller, temple at Periyakoṟukkai,

[60] *SII*. iii, 202.

[61] *SII*. ii, 66.

[62] *SII*. ii, 65.

[63] *SII*. ii, 69. The schedule is unfortunately not complete on account of gaps in the record.

[64] A record from Nattam (Chingleput) of A.D. 1018 (263 of 1912) gives two *Kāśus* per annum as the price of clothes to be supplied to each *māṇi* in a year. The Museum Plates of Uttama (ll. 44-6) give the rate six *nāḻis* per day and one *Kaḻañju* per annum.

Trichinopoly district, earned 1½ *kuṟuṇis* of paddy a day in the reign of Rājarāja III.[65] An inscription from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr[66] of A.D. 1038 states that two garland makers were employed each on a wage of 10 *nāḻis* (one *padakku* and four *nāḻis* for both) per diem in addition to a *kaḻañju* and a half of gold per annum for clothes; and four Brahmins to recite stotras and Vēda at 12 *nāḻis* (*kuṟuṇi* and four *nāḻis*) each per day together with 1½ *kaḻañjus* of gold per annum for clothes. At Eṇṇāyiram, about the same time,[67] the persons who recited *Tiruvāymoḻi* were paid, like the reciters of *Tiruppadiyam* at Tanjore, three *kuṟuṇis* per day, which is twice what the Brahmins of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr got. The rate of three *kuṟuṇis* also obtained at Tribhuvani for reciting *Tiruvāymoḻi* in A.D. 1048[68] whereas the officiating priest got only a *padakku* per day. A Brahmin appointed to expound the Śivadharma at Tirunāgēśvaram in A.D. 1054 was also paid seventy-five *kalams* of paddy in a year,[69] the same as the wage of the Junior Accountants of the Tanjore temple. A *nambi*, officiating priest in a temple, got two *kuṟuṇis* of paddy per day at Tirumaṇañjēri, Tanjore District, in addition to sixteen *kalams* per annum in lieu of two *kāśus*.[70]

[65] 268 of 1926 (A.D. 1243).

[66] 146 of 1912.

[67] 333 of 1917.

[68] 176 of 1919.

[69] 214 of 1911.

[70] 10 of 1914 (undated). A *padakku* per diem and five *Kaḻañjus* in a year for clothes form a priest's remuneration in the Museum Plates of Uttama Cōḷa, ll. 42-4.

Barter.

(The currency of money of small denominations did not altogether displace the ancient habit of exchanging things for corn. The earliest Tamil poems state that salt and venison were exchanged for paddy; to this day, in the villages of South India, housewives may be seen pouring out the grain from their stores into the baskets of hawkers and dairy-women in return for the vegetables, ghee or curd supplied by them.) The picture of economic conditions under the Cōḷas will not be complete without some idea of the relation of paddy to other commodities and to money. Ghee was converted into gold at 9 *kuṟuṇis* per *kaḻañju* and fifteen *kalams* of ghee are equated to twenty *kaḻañjus* of gold. If this rate of conversion followed the prices prevailing at Kāḷahasti in A.D. 1012, the date of the record,[71] the price of ghee in those days must have been about a sixth or seventh of what it is to-day. A *nāḻi* and a half of curd was to be had for one *nāḻi* of paddy,[72] and paddy was selling at seven *kalams* per *pon-kaḻañju,* a price which to all appearance is slightly higher than the present range of prices. We shall see, however, that the price of paddy in gold varied very much with time and place. At Nattam (Chingleput), three *nāḻis* of paddy fetched forty-eight betel leaves and twelve areca nuts[73] in A.D. 1018. In the same year, at Tiruppangili in the Trichinopoly

[71] 299 of 1904. Another inscription of A.D. 1038 gives the rate of 50 *nāḻis* per *Kaḻañju* at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr (146 of 1912).

[72] Ibid.

[73] 263 of 1912. But 8 nuts and 32 leaves could be had for one *nāḻi* in 1104 at Narasingapuram (same district)—249 of 1910.

District, a *nāḷi* of good dholl was of the same value as five *nāḷis* of paddy; one *palam* of crude sugar as two *nāḷis* of paddy; and one *nāḷi* of paddy was required to make one curry-offering in the temple.[74] At Tirumukkūḍal in Chingleput, in A.D. 1016, one *nāḷi* of oil was bought for four of paddy, one *nāḷi* of ghee for ⅓ *kalam* of paddy,[75] and one measure of curd for two of paddy; milk was had also at the same rate, and one *nāḷi* of turmeric was got for one *kuṟuṇi* of paddy.[76]

Food.

Inscriptions recording endowments for charitable feeding often lay down schedules of expenditure calculated to give an idea of the quality of the food supplied and of the prevailing prices of food-stuffs. One record of A.D. 1004 from Tiruvaḍandai[77] states that it took ⅚ of a *kalam* of paddy for providing one meal to twelve Brahmins, the items of expenditure being: 21 *nāḷis* of rice at 1¾ *nāḷis* per head, (equal to 52½ *nāḷis* of paddy); 6 *nāḷis* of paddy for 1 *uḻakku* and 2½ *śeviḍus* of ghee; 5 *nāḷis* for vegetables and 5 for curds; ½ *nāḷi* for salt; 2 *nāḷis* for the man who supplied fuel, four for the brahman cook, three for the potter who supplied earthenware, and two *nāḷis* for betel leaves and nuts. Considering that this allowance of ⅚ *kuṟuṇi* of paddy per head sufficed for a square meal for an adult, the provision of ¾ *kuṟuṇi* for each of the junior pupils and 1¼ *kuṟuṇis* for the seniors

[74] 91 of 1892.

[75] This rate of barter almost looks like a standard rate; it occurs in 506 of 1920 (Ālanguḍi, 1094 A.D.); 518, 515, and 512 of 1920, also from the same place with dates 1116, 1117, and 1125.

[76] 175 of 1915.

[77] 273 of 1910; *ARE*. 1911, II, 21.

in the college at Eṇṇāyiram, and of ¾ and 1 *kuṟuṇi* respectively at Tribhuvani must be considered fully adequate to their requirements. An inscription of the reign of Kulōttunga I,[78] dated A.D. 1115, records that an endowment for feeding fifty Brahmins in a Vaiṣṇava *maṭha* on new moon days was made on the basis of one *kuṟuṇi* per head, and that this included provision for rice, curry, salt, pepper, ghee, curd, earthenware pots, fuel, areca nuts and betel-leaves.

Price of paddy.

Some variations are recorded in the price of paddy and the rate seems to have generally differed with the fertility of the area concerned. Often these rates are not temporary prices prevalent at the time of the record, but some standardised average rates to hold good for all future time. At Tiruvallam in North Arcot we find the rate 40 *kāḍis* or 13⅓ *kalams* per *kaḻañju* recorded in A.D. 992;[79] and this is repeated in A.D. 1015 in another inscription from the same district.[80] Yet another record of A.D. 1012 from Kāḷahasti equates one *pon* to seven *kalams*, and the *pon* was the same as the *kaḻañju*.[81] Differences in the measures employed often make close comparison difficult. An inscription of Vīrarājēndra's reign from Tirumukkūḍal (Chingleput) states that 16 *kalams* of paddy by the Rājakēsari measure was the equivalent of one *kaḻañju*.[82] At Tiruppugalūr (Tanjore District) eight *kalams* per *kāśu*, i.e., sixteen to the

[78] 281 of 1910.
[79] 218 of 1921.
[80] 176 of 1915.
[81] 299 of 1904.
[82] 182 of 1915.

kalañju, was the price in A.D. 1006.[83] At Cidambaram the spurious inscription of Rājakēsari Rājēndra gives the rate 8½ *kalams* per *kāśu*,[84] or seventeen *kalams* to the *kalañju*. A Rājakēsari record gives 15 *kalams* per *kalañju* for Paṇḍāravāḍai (Tanjore);[85] the rate of ten *kalams* at Tribhuvani in A.D. 1048 is high, though not the highest price recorded in the inscriptions of the early period as the basis of a permanent endowment of charities.[86] Twelve *kalams* per *kalañju* is found at Nattam (Chingleput District) in A.D. 1018.[87] Early in the reign of Kulōttunga I, the *kāśu* still equal to half a *māḍa*, fetched only 2¾ *kalams* of paddy at Kōlār and 4 *kalams* at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr;[88] the relatively high price must have been due to scarcity consequent on the disturbances which caused the death of Adhirājēndra and led to the war between Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI and Kulōttunga. At the end of Kulōttunga's reign, the *kāśu* paid for thirteen *kalams* of paddy in the Tanjore area;[89] but even the *māḍa* fetched only eight *kalams* at Emappērūr (South Arcot) in A.D. 1136.[90]

Money prices.

Of the money prices of commodities relatively little is learnt from the inscriptions. Only the more precious articles which formed the staples of long distance trade seem to have

83 68 of 1928.
84 118 of 1888.
85 232 of 1923.
86 176 of 1919.
87 263 of 1912.
88 131 of 1892; 106 of 1892.
89 44 of 1891.
90 533 of 1921.

been bought and sold for money. The Tanjore inscriptions tell us, for instance, that one *kāśu* (half-*kaḻañju*) fetched towards the close of the reign of Rājarāja I, 1½ *kuṟuṇis* of cardamum seeds, 2 *kuṟuṇis* of campaka buds, 605 *palams* of *khaskas* roots, 2½ to 3 *kaḻañjus* of camphor,[91] and two *palams* of sugar which seems to have been a luxury at the time.[92] One *kāśu* (*pon*) fetched nine ewes at Mēlappaḻuvūr, (Trichinopoly District), in A. D. 931,[93] and at Śenkunṟam (North Arcot) in A.D. 1014,[94] but a Tanjore inscription gives only three ewes for a *kāśu*.[95] A *paśu* (cow) is valued at fifteen *kāśus* at Tiṭṭaguḍi (South Arcot) in 1136.[96] The price of a cocoanut tree was 150 *kāśus* at Nallūr (Tanjore district) in 1221 if it was yielding fruit (*kā-tengu*) and 100 if it was not;[97] but the *kāśu* of the time of Rājarāja III was a very depreciated coin.

Of the value of metals we learn incidentally that bronze sold at 35 *palams* per *kāśu* (half *kaḻañju* of gold), copper at 30 *palams*, silver at 26⅔ *palams*, and *tarā* (alloy) at 70 *palams*; these rates are found in a record of 1099 A.D. from Tiruppanandāḷ.[98] The relative cheapness of silver may be noted in view of the opinion

[91] 3 *Kaḷ.* rate in 146 of 1912 (A.D. 1038) from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr.

[92] *SII.* ii, Intro. 18, Table A.

[93] 378 of 1924.

[94] 149 of 1921.

[95] *SII.*, ii, 64; 63, says six ewes=3 cows=1 buffalo, 302 of 1901 equates one cow with four sheep in the reign of Rājarāja III, year 16.

[96] 15 of 1903.

[97] 58 of 1911.

[98] 46 of 1914; *ARE*. 1915, II, 23.

sometimes expressed that the metal was rare in South India.

Famines.

Some instances of scarcity and famine are incidentally recorded in the inscriptions, but they are not many. Individuals were sometimes hard hit and had, as pointed out already, to seek livelihood at the price of their personal freedom. The most outstanding instance of a somewhat widespread distress and the measures adopted for combating it is found in an inscription from Ālanguḍi (Tanjore District) of A.D. 1152.[99] Its import is unfortunately not free from uncertainty. It states that there was a *Kāladōṣam,* 'bad time', in the third year of the reign of Vijayarājēndradēva who, after taking Kalyāṇapuram and Kollāpuram, died on the back of an elephant. The king so described nearly a century after his time must have been Rājādhirāja I or his younger brother and successor, Rājēndra II.[100] The cause of the scarcity from which the people of Ālanguḍi suffered is by no means clear.[101] But we are told that the people borrowed from the treasury of the local temple all the gold jewels and silver articles that could be spared to the extent of 1011 *kaḻañjus* of gold and 464 *palams* of silver in order to be able to maintain themselves and buy seed and manure

[99] 5 of 1899.

[100] *ARE.* 1899, paragraph 53; *SII.* iii, p. 191. But see above i, p. 311 *n.*

[101] Venkayya suggests that failure of rain was the cause and that Rājēndra II did not come to the rescue of the people because he inherited an empty treasury from his war-like and extravagant brother, Rājādhirāja I. *ARE. Ibid.*

for resuming cultivation. These transactions are re-called on the occasion of a fresh agreement with the temple relating to the terms of the repayment of the loan.

CHAPTER XXI

AGRICULTURE AND LAND TENURES

Peasant proprietors.

The vast majority of the people lived a rustic life in the villages, and agriculture was their principal occupation. The prestige attending the ownership of land had a high social value, and the independent peasant proprietor was then, as now, the backbone of social life. It was the deliberate object of every one, whatever his occupation, to have a small plot of land he could call his own. In fact, the village was primarily a settlement of peasants; and the village assembly was an association of landlords. Part of the land surrounding the village was held in common, and the rest was subject till very recently to periodical redistribution;[1] even now, this old rule of redistribution from time to time appears to survive in some of the villages of Tanjore.

Communal ownership.

As evidence of communal ownership of land in Cōḷa times may be noticed the terms *sabhā-mañjikkam*[2] and *ūr-mañjikkam*,[3] and *ūrppodu*,[4] the escheat to the village of land that was in

[1] See *SII*. i, 40. An inscription of the reign of Kulōttunga I from Lālguḍi (142 of 1929) mentions the fact of the annual redistribution of village-lands (*nammūrk-karaik-kāṇi-yāṇḍu toṟum kuṟittu varugaiyālē*) and the disadvantages to agriculture resulting from the practice. Also 441 of 1912—lands held by Śāliya nagarattār of Tiruppāttuṟai.

[2] *SII*. iii, 156, 181. Is *sabhāmadhyama* of *SII*. iii, 7 the same word?

[3] 4 of 1890; 266 of 1901.

[4] 42 of 1903.

arrears for the *iṟai* on it,[5] and the sale of waste land by the village for being reclaimed and put to some specific use.[6] An inscription of the reign of Sundaracōḷa from Madhurāntakam records the sale by the *Sabhā* in a public manner (*sabhai-vilai*) of some land described clearly as part of the unappropriated common land of the village.[7] Individual ownership of land was clearly recognised also, and numberless instances of alienation by sale or gift of the absolute proprietorship of the soil by individuals, and of the inheritance of such property from father to son in the normal course, can be gathered from the inscriptions. The theory of the law books is equally clear on the subject.[8]

Individual property.

Besides the land-owners, great and small, there were others dependent on agriculture. A fairly large class of landless labourers, an agrarian proletariat, some of whom were in a condition of serfdom, assisted in the operations and shared the proceeds of agriculture. In almost all villages the distinction between persons paying the land-tax (*iṟai-kuḍigaḷ*) and those who did not was clearly established, and the former had usually a larger share in the tasks of local government. Each village had also a staff of hereditary menial servants of the lowest social class who were remunerated for their services to the community by

Agrarian labour.

[5] *SII.* iii, 162.

[6] 220 of 1901.

[7] 396 of 1922. See also 157 of 1922.

[8] Moreland's doubts on this subject (*The Agrarian Systems of Moslem India*, p. 4) are altogether misplaced.

shares in the common land of the village. The artisans of the village had shares also in the communal land; these shares were of the nature of retainers, inducements to them to stay in the village, ready to take up work whenever it came to them, the wage for each engagement forming the subject of separate negotiation between the parties.

Life of the poor.

Some idea of the life of the poorer classes in the villages, those in the lowest rung of the social scale, may be gained from the picture of Ādanūr with which Śēkkiḻār opens his account of the life of the pariah saint Nandan. Though somewhat idealised in accordance with literary usage, it is clearly informed by an intimate acquaintance on the part of the author with the realities of country life at the time: "Ādanūr was a wealthy city of ancient fame in Mēṟkā-nāḍu. The rich waters of the Koḷḷiḍam (Coleroon) seemed to pour out on either side the gems of fertility with their waves (hands), and the land appeared to receive the gift with its flowery hands (gardens on either side).......... The town of Ādanūr owed its great prosperity to its fertile fields and gardens, and had many tall mansions and a teeming population. In the outskirts of that town was a small hamlet of Pulaiyas studded with small huts under old thatches overspread by *śurai* creepers and inhabited by agrarian labourers engaged in menial occupations. In the thresholds of the huts covered with strips of leather, little chicks were seen moving about in groups; dark children who wore bracelets of black iron were prancing about, carrying

little puppies whose yelps were drowned by the tinkling bells which girdled their waists. In the shade of the *marudu* trees, a female labourer (*uḷatti*) sent her baby to sleep on a sheet of leather; there were mango trees from whose branches drums were seen hanging; and under the cocoanut palms, in little hollows on the ground, tiny-headed bitches were found lying quiet after pupping. The red-crested cocks crowed before dawn calling the brawny *pulaiyar* to their day's work; and by day, under the wide shade of the *Kāñji* tree spread the voice of the wavy-haired *pulaiya* women singing as they were husking paddy. By the side of tanks full of warbling birds, the music of many instruments accompanied the drinking *fetes* of *pulaiya* women who wore on their heads fragrant flowers and ears of paddy-corn, and who staggered in their dance as the result of increasing intoxication. In this abode of the people of the lowest caste (*kaḍaiñar*), there arose a man with a feeling of true devotion to the feet of Śiva. He was the unrivalled Nandanār who inherited as his share communal service in the neighbouring township (*ūr-ppulamai*). ....Depending for his livelihood on his share of the communal land (land set apart by the town for *pariahs* in communal employ), and following the profession that was his by birth, he used to supply, to the temples of the Lord of the Trident, leather and leather straps for making drums, strings (guts) for lutes of various types and bezoar for the worship of the God of gods." Workers of this class were indeed in a condition of serfdom, *adscripti glebae* with no freedom of movement.

Day labour.

From casual references in the inscriptions, we can dimly perceive the existence of a class of hired day-labourers who assisted in agricultural operations on the estates of other people and received a daily wage, usually in grain.[9] There was no clear line of division between the absolutely landless agrarian labourer and the small peasant hiring himself out in his spare time. Garden-labour was hired for service in flower-gardens attached to temples at the standard rate of one *marakkāl* and two *nāḻis* of paddy per diem, a rate mentioned in two inscriptions of the years A. D. 1019 and 1053;[10] and eight such labourers were regularly employed all the year round in a garden of the extent of seven *pāḍagams* in one case, and two for six *mā*-s in the other. In several instances a gift of land for some public purpose, to a temple or *maṭha*, is found to include some portion set apart for the residences of the families of labourers engaged in its cultivation. Such labourers were not peasant proprietors by any means, and were nearer the class of hired labourers than of tenants; they were entitled to the use of a house-site near enough to the place of their work and to get wages fixed in advance, the proceeds of their labour on land being altogether the property of the institution that owned the soil on which they worked.

Tenancy.

Tenancy-cultivation was also quite common, both on private estates and

[9] 114 of 1928 from Ayyampēṭṭai records that, early in the thirteenth century, there was unusual need for employing hired labour as the Veḷḷālas had dwindled in numbers owing to various causes, and that the daily wages (in paddy) of hired labour were mounting up.

[10] 172 of 1915; 45 of 1925.

on quasi-public land such as that of a temple; after paying the landlord a fixed *mēlvāram* determined in advance, the tenant usually retained as his share what remained after payment of the direct expenses of cultivation, and any minor dues assessed on the land held by him. The extensive class of service tenures may be taken to have invested their holders with a temporary proprietorship of the soil as remuneration for the particular services rendered by them to the community or the institutions concerned.

A caution.

The data to be gathered from the inscriptions are still too fragmentary and one-sided to allow of a detailed account of the entire agrarian system of the time. Almost all inscriptions record transactions of a religious or eleemosynary character, and one can never tell how far the conditions described in them can be treated as representative of the general features of private cultivation. Considering, however, that cultivation, like other industries, was undertaken mainly to supply local needs, and that there is no evidence whatever of its having attained the capitalistic form in pursuit of profits, it is possible that there was little or no difference in this respect between private lands and those of public or charitable institutions. If the correctness of this surmise may be assumed, much of what is said below on tenures, irrigation, land-values and so on may be accepted as characteristic of the whole system.

Tenures.

Communal ownership of land by the villages as such has been noticed already; the residuary claim of the state as

represented by the king to all unassigned land must have been tacitly assumed. For the rest, all cultivable land was held in one of three broad classes of tenure which may be distinguished as : peasant proprietorship called *veḷḷān-vagai* in the inscriptions; service-tenure, comprising all the holdings described variously as *jīvita, bhōga, kāṇi, vṛtti,* and so on ; and eleemosynary tenure, such as *brahmadēya, dēvadāna* and *śālābhōga,* resulting from charitable gifts and governed by the special terms laid down in each case in a separate document drawn up in set terms and engraved on copper plates or stone or both. Service-inams were also often recorded on stone, but these records were simpler and stated only the extent of the land held, the name of the person holding it and the particular service for which it was the remuneration, the details of the rights of the parties to the arrangement being left to be regulated by local custom. The three classes of tenure so differentiated may now be considered in some detail.

Peasant proprietors.

The term *veḷḷān-vagai* comprises two words of which the first clearly means 'cultivator.' Of the second word *vagai,* the meanings suited to the present context are 'class' or 'manner'. That *vagai* is used in the epigraphs in the sense of classification according to tenure will become clear from our recalling the phrase *nāḍu-vagai-śeygiṟa* applied to revenue officials employed in the settlement of land-revenue; the process of settlement (*vagai-śeydal*) involved the registration of titles and tenures including those of

the ordinary cultivators (*veḷḷān*). It may be observed, in passing, that the classification of land in the order of fertility of the soil was called *taram-iḍudal*, grading. *Veḷḷān-vagai* is clearly contrasted with other forms of tenure in the inscriptions. Karuppūr was one of many villages appointed by Rājarāja to supply fixed quantities of grain to the Tanjore temple; only such of its cultivable land as was classed as *veḷḷān-vagai*, the *dēvadānas* and *śālābhōgas* being excluded, was taken into account to fix its quota of the supply to the Tanjore temple.[11] Again, in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates we are told in the most casual manner that the normal type of a tax-paying village was the *veḷḷān-vagai*. The village of Paḷaiyanūr, a *brahmadēya* in the possession of the *sabhā* of Śingaḷāntaka-caturvēdimangalam, was converted into a *veḷḷān-vagai* village, the *sabhā* getting other land in exchange (*talai-māṟu*). After this conversion to *veḷḷān-vagai*, Paḷaiyanūr was made a *dēvadāna* of the Tiruvālangāḍu temple. The difference between this village and others of the *veḷḷān-vagai* is clearly stated in the following terms:[12] "This *ūr* is to be exempted from paying *iṟai* like other villages (held) by *veḷḷān-vagai*; for every year from the sixth, it is to pay a permanent *iṟai* (*ninṟiṟai*) of three thousand two hundred and eighty-eight *kalams*, seven *kuṟuṇis* and

[11] *SII*. ii, 5, paragraph 2. In the next succeeding paragraph the same term occurs among other phrases which are not easily understood. A careful study of the text shows, however, that on any interpretation of it, the term *veḷḷān-vagai* has to be understood in the sense of peasant-proprietorship. Its translation into 'the portion of the cultivators' (Hultzsch) does not quite bring out the technical character that undoubtedly attaches to it.

[12] *SII*. iii, 205, Part III, Tamil, ll. 19-25.

five *nāḻis* of paddy and one hundred and ninety-three *kaḻañjus,* (one) *mañjāḍi,* and one *mā* of gold as paid before including *paḍi* and *paḷḷi*;[13] it is to be assessed accordingly and (the assessment) entered in the accounts." Now, these words of the king's order provide a peep-hole into some important aspects of the land system under Cōḻa rule. The ordinary ryotwari village as we now call it was the *veḷḷān-vagai,* having direct relations with the government and paying a land-tax liable to revision from time to time. Whether the settlement was with the individual cultivator as at present, or, as seems more likely from the strength of communal organisations and life, with the village as a whole, is not certain. The statement that Paḻaiyanūr while it was a *brahmadēya* under a *sabhā* paid an *iṟai* of a large amount to the state is proof that a *brahmadēya* was usually subject to certain imposts payable in a lump sum of gold[14] to the central government. A *brahmadēya* could also be resumed on the holders being compensated by the grant of other land in exchange, and the land so resumed could be put to some other use, in this instance

[13] The words: "*Ivvūr mun iṟutta paḍiyum paḷḷiyum uḷ-paḍa*" are rendered by Krishna Sastri into: "as paid before by this village inclusive of *paḷḷi*". In other words, he takes *iṟuttapaḍiyum* to mean 'in the manner in which payment was made', and the words in l. 71: '*ivvūr paḷḷi uḷ paḍa iṟai kāṭṭina nettu*' may be quoted in support of this view. But the '*um*' in '*paḍiyum*' is a real difficulty in its way, and I have preferred to take '*paḍi*' like '*paḷḷi*' to be some kind of tax or due, of which the nature is not clear. Seeing that it is omitted in l. 71, one may think that it is either negligible or closely analogous to '*paḷḷi*'.

[14] How much of the 598 *kaḻañjus* and 1 *kuṉṟi*, the total assessment on Śingaḷāntaka-catm. was due from Paḻaiyanūr is not certain; possibly it was the amount of 193 *kaḻañjus* and odd mentioned further on. If that was so, the paddy mentioned along with this sum was the net share of the brahman donees who had rights in Paḻaiyanūr. A *nagaram* sometimes paid its dues in gold (*SII.* ii, 4, paragraph 13).

converted into a *dēvadāna*. Quite obviously, Paḷaiyanūr was granted to the temple not as an ordinary *dēvadāna*, but as a *veḷḷān-vagai* village with a permanently settled assessment of taxes which it paid to the temple instead of to government. The reason underlying this roundabout arrangement is not stated; but one may guess that the intention was to leave the actual cultivators of the land in *status quo*. When the land was *brahmadēya* they were remitting in all 3288 *kalams*, 7 *kuṟuṇis* and 5 *nāḻis* of paddy and 193 *kaḻañjus*, 1 *mañjāḍi* and 1 *mā* of gold as the landlord's share, and they were required to continue making the same payment to the temple instead of to their former landlords.[15] Though in consideration of existing conditions a permanent settlement of the dues from the village to the temple was ordered, all that it meant was that the assessment was not to be altered as often as in the ordinary *veḷḷān-vagai* villages; for though almost every order or resolution was said to be perpetual at the time it was issued, there was no lack of readiness to reconsider it as fresh circumstances arose. And the language of this order which contrasts the payment by the ordinary *veḷḷān-vagai* villages with the fixed annual assessment of Paḷaiyanūr also suggests the possibility that in *veḷḷān-vagai* tenure the state's share was in some manner directly dependent on the annual yield. But of this we cannot be sure. Another example of a similar conversion of *brahmadēya* to a *veḷḷān-vagai dēvadāna* is found in an inscription of the sixteenth

[15]Krishna Sastri, however, suggests that this was the tax paid before the village became a brahmadēya. *SII*. iii, p. 390, n. 1.

year of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya Viceroy Sundara by which five *vēlis* of land, originally *brahmadēya,* were made over to the Tiruvālīśvaram temple as *veḷḷān-vagai* with an annual assessment of 642 *kalams,* 6 *kuruṇis,* 2 *nāḷis,* 3 *uḷakkus,* and 2½ *śeviḍus* by the *nārāyam* measuring five *nāḷis,* and 40 *kaḷañjus* and 3 *kāṇis* of gold, of which five *kāśus* represented *kātci-erudu-kāśu* and the rest *uruvu-kōl-nilan-kāśu.*[16] These instances make it clear that the *veḷḷān-vagai* villages fell, in the reign of Rājēndra I, into at least two broad classes—one directly remitting a variable revenue to the state and the other paying dues of a more or less fixed and standardised character to the public institutions like temples to which they were assigned. Which of these benefited the cultivator more, if at all, we lack the means of determining.

An inscription from Nīḍūr (Tanjore district) dated A. D. 1232,[17] records that after the village became free from the tyrannical rule of Kōpperuñjinga, the cultivators went up to the village *sabhā* with complaints regarding their economic condition, and that the *sabhā* fixed a new settlement regarding the dues in cash and kind to be paid by the actual cultivators to the landlords, *perunguḍigaḷ,* who were forbidden to use force in making these collections. The rate of *kuḍimai* was fixed at 22 *kāśus* for each *mundirigai* (1|320 of a *vēli*) for a single crop, while *veṭṭik-kāśu* and *viniyōgam* amounted to five *kāśus* and one *kāśu* respectively; one labourer was to be supplied free

[16] 327 of 1916.

[17] 536 of 1921; *ARE.* 1922 II 25 has 1|32 by mistake.

for each *kāṇi* held and all extra labour availed of was to be paid for at the usual rates. Any extra dues imposed on the lands were to be paid by the *perungudigaḷ*.

Service tenure.

Service-tenures were of various types. The assignments in favour of public servants as remuneration for their official work under government have already been noticed; these assignments were, however, only of certain rights to taxes and dues from land, and as such must be distinguished from direct assignments of land in lieu of particular services rendered. Such assignments of revenues from the land and of the land itself formed a normal method of remunerating military service, at least in later Cōḷa times. Two inscriptions from Tiruvāḍuturai dated A.D. 1117 and 1121 mention the grant of a considerable area of arable land, constituted into a separate unit under the name Kulōttungaśōḷanallūr, as *vīrabhōga* for the enjoyment of the Kaikkōḷas, from Mēṟkā-nāḍu, who were of the *śiṟudanam* rank and served in the palace at Gangaikoṇḍa-śōḷapuram.[18] An inscription of A. D. 1125 from Śivapuri, Ramnad,[19] states that Śuṇḍan Gangaikoṇḍān, a vassal of the king, promised to give as *udirap-paṭṭi* five *mā*-s of good land and three *mā*-s of poor land to the dependents of each of his swordsmen (*vāḷilār*) who fell in battle. He further promised that in case any of the servants of the *vāḷilār* died in war

Military grants.

[18] 72 of 1926; 69 of 1926.
[19] 47 of 1929.

or on account of disease, he would not recover anything as his dues from their relatives which they were not prepared to give with a good grace. Yet another inscription, from the Tanjore district (Kōvilkāḍu), dated A. D. 1256, records an undertaking by Śōḻagangan of Paiyūr in Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam not to collect any dues over and above 600 *kāśus* and two *kalams* of paddy on every *mā* from all the lands held by him as *paḍaipparru*.[20] This is obviously an instance in which a feudal chieftain was allowed to enjoy the proceeds of taxes from lands assigned to him in return for his maintaining a stated number of soldiers ready for service when required by the king.

Very good examples of service tenure proper come from temples and villages, which generally remunerated their servants in this manner. The temples often parcelled out their lands and assigned them as *jīvita, bhōga,* or *kāṇi,* all terms are used indifferently, for persons who fetched water for bathing the deity,[21] kept watch over the temple premises[22], sounded the conch (*śangu*),[23] performed the *arcanā* and aided at the *śrī bali*[24], sang in the temple or trained songsters[25] and so on. The *Sabhā* of Jananātha-caturvēdimangalam met once in the ninth year of Rājēndra I to regulate the occupation of the lands of the local temple of Mahāśāstā by its

[20] 194 of 1926. *Paḍaip-parru* is also mentioned with *jīvitap-parru* and *vanniyap-parru* in 556 of 1919.

[21] 276 of 1923.

[22] 112 of 1914.

[23] 58 of 1895.

[24] 384 of 1913.

[25] 141 of 1895.

servants and fix the nature and extent of the services for which the occupants were liable in each case, such as conducting worship (*arcanā*), supplying oil for lamps, and keeping watch over the temple.[26] Individual donors often ear-marked their gifts of land to temples for particular services; slightly different in its origin, this type did not differ in any other way from the foregoing. The endowment of a *nṛtyabhōga* (*śākkai-kāṇi*) for the performance of *āriyak-kūttu* at the annual festivals in Tiruvāḍuturai from the ninth year of Rājarāja I (A. D. 994)[27], and that of a *taṭṭārakkāṇi,* goldsmith's holding, by queen Dantiśakti Viṭanki attached to the temple of Tiruvārūr from the fourth year of Rājēndra I[28], furnish instances of one of the common methods by which service-tenure on temple lands was created from time to time. Many items of service, high and low, to the village community were also remunerated in a like manner. Here again there was a double process at work; sometimes the village assembly took the initiative and set apart a portion of the common land as *bhōga* for the performance of specified services; there were also rich and generous persons ready to meet some pressing local need from their purse, buy land from the village community itself to create the necessary endowment, and leave it to be administered by the local authority. Of the first process there are several examples of *bhaṭṭa-vṛttis* being created by village assemblies for the

[26] 386 of 1922.
[27] 120 of 1925.
[28] 216 of 1894.

maintenance of teachers in schools, or of persons who popularised culture by expounding the Purāṇas or philosophies in temples, and the *kāṇis* for artisans like goldsmiths[29], for the village physician[30], or dancing-master.[31] A very common form that private benefaction assumed was the gift of land for the maintenance of dredging-boats and of men who kept the village tanks in good repair by removing silt, repairing the tank bund and in other specified ways[32]. Such land was called *ēri-paṭṭi*. Another was the *ambalappuṟam*, for the maintenance of rest houses and public places for the supply of drinking water.[33] In view of a gift of two *mā*-s of land to each, three carpenters of Sōmanātha-caturvēdimangalam agreed to serve in the several hamlets of the village, accepting a reasonable remuneration for each job[34]. In fact, the universal prevalence of service tenure created for all conceivable purposes is most clearly established by the inscriptions. Its place in the tax-system gave rise to disputes which were settled by the general order of Rājarāja issued in his twenty-fourth year[35]. From this order, we may conclude that, unless there were reasons to the contrary, all lands held under service tenure were subject to the usual imposts, central and local, that were levied on land. The numerous instances of land being set apart for the maintenance

[29] 210 of 1919.
[30] 36 of 1898.
[31] 361 of 1924.
[32] 27 of 1893; 252 of 1921.
[33] 170 of 1894.
[34] 405 of 1925; also 205 of 1919.
[35] *SII*. iii. 9.

of lamps in temples are also best regarded as examples of service tenures.

Charity lands.

The main types of eleemosynary tenure were three : the *brahmadēya*, the *dēvadāna* and the *śālābhōga*. The two former were sometimes combined in the same village, a *dēvadāna brahmadēya* village[36]. The *dēvadāna* differs from *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam*[37] and *tirunāmattuk-kāṇi*, the two latter terms being applied evidently to lands held in absolute ownership by the temple, like any other land-owner[38]. These tenures were created generally by purchase of land from previous owners and occupants, followed by a ceremonial gift in set form, the gift formula often giving detailed expression to the rights and privileges, and the obligations, if any, conveyed with the grant; more rarely, it was found possible especially for the king and the village assembly to utilise unassigned common land for such gifts. When land already owned and cultivated formed the subject of gift after purchase, the question was how to deal with the occupancy rights of the actual cultivators (*kuḍi*) of the soil.

[36] 127 of 1925; 388 of 1913.

[37] 126 of 1896. An inscription from Uṭṭattūr (525 of 1912) gives the following classes of *iṟaiyili paṟṟu* in the village viz., *dēvadāna, tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam, paḷḷiccandam, aiyan pāṭṭi, maḍappuṟam, agarappaṟṟu, bhaṭṭa-vṛtti*.

[38] In 1222, a tenant in occupation of some *dēvadāna* land in Talaiccangāḍu, having fallen into arrears with his annual *kaḍamai*, agreed to the land being made *tirunāmattukkāṇi* and leased out to new tenants, in lieu of his clearing the arrears: *en pērāl añjāvadin edirāmāṇḍu kār-varai śigaiyāna kāśum veḷḷaip-pūri nellum kaṟṟai vaikkōl tiraiyum ennāl pōkkaṟukkap-pōgādenṟum innilam vēliyum paśān mudal viṭṭu viḍu-tiṭṭu tandu innilattukku munbu kōyil puṟappaṭṭa mūla-śādanangaḷum tarukiṟēn enṟu nān viṇṇappañjeyya*. (209 of 1925).

Closely allied was the question of the rights of *kāraṇmai* and *mīykāṭci* (or *mīyāṭci*), terms clearly corresponding to cultivator's and landlord's rights respectively. As the landlord might himself be the actual cultivator, the class of occupant cultivators was sometimes distinguished by the name *kīḻ-kāraṇmai-uḍaiya-kuḍigaḷ,* i.e. the occupants with subordinate cultivation rights[39]. Several inscriptions recording these gifts contain statements of the manner in which these questions were dealt with, such as *kuḍi-nīkki-kkāraṇmai-mīykāṭci*[40] or *kuḍi-nīngāk-kāraṇmai.*[41] It is curious to note that this conception of occupancy rights was sometimes applied even to movable property; an inscription of A. D. 1006 from Tiruvaiyāṟu records that a herd of sheep was taken charge of by a person who undertook to maintain two lamps in the temple on condition that the sheep were treated as *kuḍi-nīkkā-ccāvā-mūvā-ppērāḍu*[42], full-grown ewes that neither die nor grow old and are held in fixed tenancy. One other subject for specific consideration on the occasion of such gifts of land to Brahmins, temples and feeding houses, was that of taxes and dues to be paid on the land after the date of the gift. Often these lands were made *iṟaiyili* either by total remission by the taxing authorities, central or local or both, or by the *iṟai* being secured by a lump sum payment made in advance as *iṟai-kāval.* In the absence of a clear statement to some such effect, the lands were liable to the usual taxes.

[39]75 of 1896; *EI.* v. p. 45.
[40]*SII.* ii, 92, l. 1.
[41]111 of 1905. Also *ARE.* 1929, II, 16.
[42]218 of 1894.

Ēkabhōga.

The Anbil plates of Sundara Cōḷa record the gift as an *ēkabhōga-brahmadēya* of ten *vēlis* of land by the king. The adjective *ēkabhōga* implies that, unlike the usual *brahmadēya* shared by a number of donees, this gift was meant altogether to benefit the one individual named, in this case Aniruddha Brahmādhirāja. The land given away was marked off in the traditional manner by a public ceremony in which a female elephant was made to beat the bounds. The Tamil part of the grant records in great detail the rights and privileges conveyed by the gift which are more summarily mentioned in the Sanskrit part: "we marked (the boundaries of) the land thus defined by erecting mounds of earth (*karu*) and planting cactus. The several objects included in this land—such as fruit-yielding trees, water, lands, gardens, all upgrowing trees and down-going wells, open spaces[43], wastes in which calves graze, the village-site, ant-hills, platforms (built round trees), canals,[44] hollows; rivers and their alluvial deposits, tanks, granaries (*kōṭṭagāram*), fish-ponds, clefts with beehives, deep ponds (*kōṭṭagam*) included; and everything else on which the iguana runs and the tortoise crawls; and taxes such as the income from places of justice (*manṟu pāḍu*) the *kūlam* on (betel) leaves, the cloths from looms, the *kāṇam* (of gold) on carriages, the *pāṭṭam* on shops, *kārāṇmai* and *mīyāṭci* included, the old tenants being evicted (*kudinīkki*); everything that the king could take and enjoy—all these shall be made over to

[43] *Manṟu*, which Gopinatha Rao translates into 'halls'.

[44] '*ōḍaiyūm uḍaippum*', G. Rao has 'ponds, breaches in rivers'.

this man. He shall be at liberty to erect halls and upper storeys with burnt bricks; to dig wells, big and small; to plant southernwood and cuscus; to dig channels in accordance with watering requirements; not to waste *śennīr*,[45] but to dam such water for irrigation; no one shall employ small piccottahs or baskets[46] (for lifting such water). In this wise, was the old order changed, and the old name and old taxes removed, and an *ēkabhōga-brahmadēya* under the name of Karuṇākaramangalam constituted".

A similar charter of privileges with a few variations is found in other *brahmadēya* grants, as well as in *dēvadānas*. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates, for instance, convey these privileges in almost identical terms[47], and some others like the prohibition of Īḻavas climbing up cocoanut and palm trees (for tapping them) within the area and the right to raise the bund of the village tank to its maximum height and to store in it the maximum quantity of water that it could hold. Sometimes restrictions were placed by the terms of the gift on the rights of the donee and his successors to sell or mortgage the land.[48]

Exclusiveness.

A deliberate attempt seems to have been made in the reigns of Rājarāja and Rājēndra I to maintain the homogeneity of the *brahmadēya* villages by

[45] Rain-water?

[46] I have adopted *kūḍai-nīr*, See *EI*. xv, p. 72, n. 3. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates (ll. 445-6) confine this restriction to persons other than the grantees (*anniyar*). See also 103 of 1921.

[47] ll. 426-58 far more elaborate in details than the Anbil plates. Also 103 of 1921 and others.

[48] 118 of 1902.

excluding all other classes from owning land in them. This policy was dictated, not so much by reasons like pride of caste and social exclusiveness, which readily suggest themselves to a modern student, as by the real difficulty of fitting into the constitutional arrangements suited to a *sabhā* other persons whose aims, needs and attainments were not the same as those of the Bhaṭṭas and Kramavittas. It has been pointed out elsewhere[49] that in large villages where such homogeneity could not be attained, the device was adopted of running two types of village assemblies side by side, the *sabhā* and *ūr*. But in places where Brahmins formed the bulk of the residents, and landholders of other classes were too few to be constituted into a separate *ūr*, these landholders had either to be received as members of a *sabhā* which laid down high educational qualifications for taking part in debates and for service on the executive committees, qualifications not easily attained by the common people, or they had to go without exercising any of the privileges normally associated with ownership of land in those days and without an opportunity of giving adequate expression or gaining proper attention to their needs. The only other course was for them to betake themselves to more congenial surroundings. Possibly difficulties of the character above mentioned were not foreseen at first, and no restrictions were imposed on ownership of land in *brahmadēya* villages; as in actual practice this policy gave rise in some place or other to the sort of

[49] *Studies*, p. 78; ante pp. 279 ff.

inconvenience that was quite natural in the circumstances, the king's attention was drawn to it, when no satisfactory solution was reached by local agreement. There was issued by Rājarāja, in the seventeenth year of his reign, A. D. 1002, a general order[50] that in Brahmin villages, the estates (*kāṇi*) of all persons of castes other than Brahmin be sold out, exception being made of servants holding land under some service tenure. The Brahmins were apparently expected to buy up the land and pay down cash, and a special officer was deputed to Rājakēsari-caturvēdimangalam to get the *sabhā* to conform to the order and make early payment; some of the land sold on the occasion was bought by the king's sister Kundavai, who gave it to the local temple. A similar order of Rājēndra I is recorded in an inscription[51] of the sixth year of his reign from Veḷiccēri, a *brahmadēya* in Puliyūr-kōṭṭam.

From the reign of Rājarāja III, we have an instance of the original land registers of a *brahmadēya* village, Talaiccangāḍu, being lost in a commotion, and the steps taken by the village authorities, with the sanction of the central government, to prepare a fresh register of rights based on prescriptive rights (*anubōgap-paṟṟoḻugu*). The *sabhā* record their sense of gratitude to the prime mover in this business of regulating titles and restoring order after the period of confusion[52]. The inscription is dated A. D. 1235.

[50] 46 of 1897.
[51] 311 of 1911.
[52] 218 of 1925.

Dēvadāna.

Dēvadāna lands were often marked off by means of boundary stones bearing the emblems of the deity to whom they belonged.[53] The rights and exemptions enumerated in *dēvadānas* have a family likeness to those of the *brahmadēyas*, as already noticed. *Dēvadāna* lands were managed by the authorities of the temple subject to supervision and control of the village assembly on the one side and the central government on the other. It was open to the authorities of the temple acting in concert with the local assemblies to award *jīvitas* or *kāṇis* to the servants of the temple as remuneration for the performance of services or the supply of articles required for use in the temple. Such assignments are sometimes made by the assembly acting by itself; for instance, the *ūr* of Neṟkuppai received as *dēvadāna* to Tiru-mudu-kunṟam-uḍaiyār some wet land and a house from Uttama Cōḷa; these they gave over as *kāṇi* in the third year of Rājarāja I to a person who was to supply to the temple half *palam* of sandal paste and quarter *palam* of bdellium, besides bathing materials on the days of the *ayana-saṅkrānti*.[54] The temple often came by land of low fertility or even waste land which was sometimes dumped on it by village assemblies which found themselves under the necessity of raising money urgently for some public purpose. Such inferior land had a much better chance under temples of being improved and fertilised by persons

[53] *SII*. i, 59; ii, 6, 61. 5 of 1909. Instances are not unknown of cash and the right to collect some dues being made *dēvadāna iṟaiyili*—363 of 1899.

[54] 57 of 1918. For other instances, see 'service tenure', *ante*.

who were ready to undertake the task as a labour of love; when improved in this manner the land usually yielded a better income to the temple than before.[55] In the reign of Rājarāja I, the lands in a *dēvadāna* village belonging to the temple of Sucīndram were divided into two categories, on one of which the rental due from the tenants (*kāṇik-kaḍan*) was raised from 3 *kalams* per *mā* to 3 *kalams* and a *tūṇi*, while the other which could not pay such a rental was to be directly managed by the officers of the temple (*dēvakanmigaḷ*).[56] On the other hand, in some instances the tenants occupying temple lands seem to have held them on more favourable terms than others, or, at any rate, to have had better opportunities of getting the terms of their lease revised when necessary. Thus the *kāṇik-kaḍan* due from Mānābharaṇa-caturvēdimangalam to the Viṣṇu temple called after Rājēndracōḷa in Mannārkōyil was fixed at 3840 *kalams* and odd; this was found to be too high, and in consequence the Cēra Rājarāja-dēva added ten *vēlis* of land to the original extent, and fixed 2600 *kalams* as the annual rental on the whole village so extended.[57] Instances like this show clearly that a number of extra-economic considerations entered into the management of temple lands. The desire of the donor to secure the maximum benefit to the temple or its tenants from his gift, the readiness of tenants to squeeze themselves to help in the attainment of this

[55] 495 of 1918.

[56] *TAS.* iv, p. 129. *Kaḍan paṟṟāda nilam* (l. 21) does not mean lands exempt from taxes as understood by the editor of the inscription.

[57] 111 of 1905.

object, or, what was at least quite as common, their readiness to make an honest penny at the expense of a public institution if it could be done without a scandal, such were some of the forces that exerted a real influence on the terms of the lease. At any rate there was little chance that the relative economic conditions of the tenants holding of the temples exhibited any tendency to equality, such as custom and the methods of production and sharing were apt to produce among other classes of tenants. A curious inscription of the reign of Āditya II shows the value of the periodical audit of temple accounts by the officers of the central government; this is a record which details the detection of what looks very much like a deliberate fraud by which the temple of Tiruviḍaimarudil was despoiled of 96 *kalams* of paddy, every year by its tenants who remitted only 160 *kalams* as *pañcavāram* where 256 *kalams* were due by agreement; the defence set up in the course of the enquiry was that the tenure was *kuḍinīkkā-dēvadānam,* i.e. one in which occupancy rights still held good; but this turned out to be a false statement on a reference to the original deed recording the *dēvadāna,* and the tenants were thereupon ordered to remit the higher rate of *pañcavāram.*[58]

[58] *SII.* iii, 203. The fact that 160 *kalams* were *pañcavāram* and 800 *kalams* the tenant's share of the produce (l. 2), suggests that *pañcavāram* was a one-fifth part surrendered by the tenants of *dēvadāna* lands on their share of the produce. But we cannot be sure of this, as 256 *kalam* rate has no relation to any figure in the record. But there are important gaps in the inscription. I have used the words occupant and occupancy wherever the term *kuḍi* is used in the original as it implies the actual cultivator of the soil, and not merely a lessee. Krishna Sastri, however, uses the words tenant and tenancy in the same context, as e.g. in the passage cited at p. 396.

An inscription from Tirumāḷam[59], Tanjore district, dated A.D. 1112, records that Kulōttunga I approved and sanctioned the proposal to remove some of the tenants in occupation of the *dēvadāna* lands of the local temple and lease out the lands to other tenants, because the former had allowed arrears of *mēlvāram* to accumulate and could not command the means to grow fresh crops without a break; the sanction of the king was obtained beforehand either because tenants could not be changed on *dēvadāna* lands without such sanction, or possibly with a view to forestalling future litigation by the displaced tenants.

A record of 1215 from Nārttāmalai, Pudukkottah[60], relates to a *kuḍi-nīngā-dēvar dānam,* created by the *nagaram,* who sold some land to two merchants. The terms of this sale show how complex, and yet, how equitable to all parties concerned, the regulation of land rights could be. For all the dues to be paid to the king on account of this land, *ulaguḍai nāyanar tiru-vāśalāl vanda iṟai kuḍimaiyum maṟṟum eppērppaṭṭanavum,* the *nagaram* held themselves responsible even after the sale. The two persons to whom the land was sold in equal shares had to give to the temple 30 *kalams* of paddy each in any year in which the yield of the whole of the land was normal; in lean years, they had to remit 2½ *kalams* on each *mā* of land actually cropped (*viḷaiñja nilattukku*). The land was declared to be in the last grade (*taram*), and was assessed as such for all time. Clearly here the rights of the

[59] 93 of 1910.
[60] Pd. 170.

temple were confined to the *mēlvāram* at a rate fixed beforehand, the tenants keeping the balance of the yield and not having to pay the taxes due to the central government, as these were paid by the *nagaram*.

Irrigation.

The prosperity of an agricultural country depends to a large extent on the facilities provided for irrigation, and the importance of securing an adequate water supply was recognised in South India from very early times. Natural streams and dependable channels leading off from them were the first source of supply: but for the passing mention, in an inscription at Tiruvāḍuturai[61], of a Parakēsari Karikālacōḷa who raised the banks of the Kāvēri, we hear little, in inscriptions, of the methods adopted to turn natural streams to account. Much literary evidence can be cited to show that the prosperity of the Cōḷa country proper was a gift of the Kāvēri, and practically all the names now known of the many branches of this great stream in the delta country are traceable in the Cōḷa inscriptions. In the absence of natural streams, recourse was had to tanks, and the bulk of the evidence on irrigation from the inscriptions relates to the care bestowed on the proper maintenance of the tanks. The Cōḷa-vāridhi of Sholingur, the Kaliyanēri near Ānaimalai in Madura, the Kaḷḷinangaikuḷam at Śōḷapuram, the Vairamēgha-taṭāka of Uttaramērūr dating from Pallava times, the 'big tank' of Bāhūr, and the Rājēndraśōḷap-periya-ēri at Punganūr are only the leading examples of a very large number of

[61] 110 of 1925.

irrigation tanks mentioned in the inscriptions. The primary care of the village assemblies was to get the silt removed every year from the tanks under their control in time for them to secure the proper depth needed to store the full supply for the next year before the rains set in. Often special endowments were created in relation to each tank to safeguard this important work from the neglect or the penury of village authorities. Even where as in Bāhūr or Tribhuvani[62], the annual repairs were not provided for by specific endowments, a special cess, the *ēri-āyam*, ear-marked for this purpose was collected from the ryots in the village, the rate in the instances mentioned being one *padakku* of grain per *mā* of cultivated land. The water-rights attaching to particular plots of land were often enumerated on the occasions when they changed hands by sale or gift. Where natural levels were not favourable for the flow of water, and it had to be lifted, piccotahs and baskets were commonly employed for the purpose. The water lift worked by bulls may have been known, but finds no place in the inscriptions. In A.D. 1110 there is recorded a breach of the tank of Tirukkāñji in a storm and the repairs effected to it by a local Araiyan; the repairs included the construction of a stone revetment to the banks (*kaṟpaḍai*)[63]. A tank near Tirukkāccūr was extended, and a fresh sluice erected at the cost of a temple, in order that the lands of the temple may be properly irrigated; the tank originally belonged to the people

[62] 178 of 1902; 192 of 1909.
[63] 215 of 1919.

of Śenguṉṟam, and their consent was obtained before the extension of the tank was undertaken. The water in the tank was to be distributed between the villagers and the temple in the ratio of their holdings[64]. Such examples, which may be easily multiplied, furnish clear evidence of the vivid realisation by the people of the importance of irrigation and of their readiness to meet and solve irrigation problems in a reasonable spirit.

Reclamation.

Another aspect of agriculture that deserves special mention is the steady progress of reclamation of forest and waste land that was being brought under the plough. Popular tradition ascribes to the Pallava kings or to Karikāla, the early Cōḷa monarch, the credit of having disafforested large tracts of South India and made them fit for agriculture and human habitation. Whatever the historical value of such traditions, epigraphy gives unmistakable proof of the deliberate efforts made from time to time and by easy stages, to increase the area under the plough and the inducements offered to encourage such efforts on the part of the people, by way of concessions in taxes, favourable terms of lease in the initial years and so on. It is needless to reproduce here details which may be easily gathered from the inscriptions[65].

[64] 295 of 1909.

[65] 357 of 1924, 287 of 1911, 385 of 1903, 485 of 1902, 506 of 1902, etc.

Yield of land.

The evidence on the yield of land and land values is by no means clear or copious. The number of crops raised each year on paddy lands was two, sometimes three[66]. No direct statement on the gross yield of land can ordinarily be traced in the inscriptions and the landlord's share called *mēlvāram, bhōgam* or even *iṟai* at times, is expressed in different ways. One of the very few instances where the gross yield is set down is the Cidambaram inscription of Rājakēsari Rājēndra[67] which says that 44 *vēlis* of land yielded in all 4500 *kalams* of paddy, and that the *mēlvāram* on this was fifty per cent of the yield. A Mysore inscription of the time of Rājādhirāja gives the *mēlvāram* rate as two-fifths for wet land and one-fourth for areas under dry cultivation[68]. The inscriptions of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr show clearly that waste land newly brought under cultivation could not yield more than was enough to justify the rather low *mēlvāram* of 30 *kalams* per *vēli* in one instance, and 28 *kalams* and 19 *kalams* for two different classes of land in another.[69] An inscription of the sixth year of Rājēndra I from Nattam (Chingleput) states that the landlord's share per *kuḻi* of cultivated land was a *kuṟuṇi* and five *nāḻis*.[69a] In 1124, land (ninety *vēlis*) was given as *dēvadāna* and *maḍappuṟa iṟaiyili* at Vṛddhācalam, on the basis of an *iṟai*, tax payable to government, of forty

[66] 271 of 1915.

[67] 118 of 1888. This record, though faulty in many ways, may, nevertheless, be accepted as genuine in this part.

[68] 505 of 1911.

[69] 103 of 1912. *ARE*. 1912, II, 22. Also 228 of 1912.

[69a] 263 of 1912.

kalams of paddy per *vēli* by the Rājakēsari measure (*marakkāl*).[70] From an inscription at Erumūr, South Arcot district, dated 1152, it is seen that some *dēvadāna* land, apparently of very good quality, was assessed at 26¼ *kalams* per *mā*, equal to 525 *kalams* per *vēli* or *nilam*, inclusive of *kaḍamai*, *pāḍi-kāval*, *śilvari* and any other taxes and cesses due therefrom[71]. Lastly, a record from Periya-korukkai (Trichinopoly district) of the reign of Rājarāja III shows that some *dēvadāna* lands there paid an all inclusive tax of 20 *kalams* of paddy on wet land (*nanśey*) and 10 *kalams*. on dry land (*puñjai*)[72].

Land value.

Figures bearing on the value of land reveal equally disparate conditions. The prices stated differ so widely from place to place and among different transactions that it is impossible to attempt a detailed explanation of such differences without an accurate knowledge of the quality of the land concerned or to institute comparisons with present conditions in respect of land-values· A rough idea may be gathered from a few examples chosen at random which will show not merely the difference in values, but wide divergences in the rates at which future dues on land were capitalised, for the advance payment of the *iṟai-kāval*, the 'tax-fund' as it may be called. At Tiru-vaiyāṟu (Tanjore Dt.), in A. D. 1006, one *vēli* of land was sold for 100 *kaḻañjus* of gold[73]. At Kuttālam in

[70] 63 of 1918.
[71] 397 of 1913.
[72] 266 of 1926; *ARE*. 1926, II. 29. 31 of 1891 gives the rate five *kalams* on *puñjai* lands at Jambukēśvaram, A.D. 1117.
[73] 219 of 1894.

Tinnevelly, 8 *mā*-s of land including the tax-dues on it were valued at 43 *kāśus* in the fourth year of Rājēndra I[74]. Two years later, in the Tanjore district, 2 *vēlis* and 8 *mā*-s of wet land including a tank together with dry land of the same extent were sold for the low amount of 10 *kāśus,* though the *irai-kāval* on it was 190 *kāśus*[75]. The low sale price in this instance was perhaps due to the sale being that of common land (*sabhaip-podu*) and to the temple. In the same year and place, another sale records the price of 40 *kāśus* and *irai-kāval* of 90 for just one *vēli* of land, which looks more normal[76]. One Madhurāntakan-māḍai fetched two hundred and fifty *kuḻis* of land or one-eighth of a *vēli* at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr in the thirtieth year of Rājēndra I.[77] Land of the extent of three and a half *vēlis* and two *mā*-s was sold for 50 *kāśus* and an equal amount provided for bringing it under the plough at Tiruvārūr in the eighth year of Rājēndra II[78]. One *vēli* of land was sold at 20 *kāśus* at Kāñcīpuram in 1073, and for a little less at Tiru-voṟṟiyūr[79]. In 1126, dry land of the extent of 4250 *kuḻis* was sold for twenty *kāśus* at Tiruvōttūr, North Arcot[80]. In 1133, four *vēlis* of land fetched a price of 90 *kāśus* at Ūṭṭattūr, Trichinopoly district, each *kāśu* being equal to three-fourths of a *kaḻañju* of gold[81]. Land yielding a ***mēlvāram*** of 120 ***kalams*** per ***vēli*** was valued

74 104 of 1926.
75 102 of 1925.
76 109 of 1925.
77 156 of 1912.
78 677 of 1919.
79 522 of 1919; 133 of 1912.
80 88 of 1900.
81 509 of 1912.

at 40 *kāśus* and 45 *kāśus* at Tiruvārūr, Tanjore district, in the tenth regnal year of Kulōttunga II, A. D. 1143.[81a]

The *kāśu*, as pointed out elsewhere, underwent a rather steeply progressive debasement, or more probably the term came to be applied in later inscriptions to a new coin of much lower denomination. The price of land as stated in terms of this new coin will not bear any direct comparison with the prices mentioned above. Thus at Tiruppaḻanam, one *mā* of land was valued at 2000 *kāśus*, working to 40,000 *kāśus* per *vēli*, in A.D. 1214[82], and the price of one *vēli* at Kumbakonam in 1220 is said to have been 25,747 *kāśus*[83]. About the same time, one *mā* of land which stood in need of reclamation was valued in Tiruveṇkāḍu at 1334 *kāśus*, the cost of reclamation being estimated at 500 *kāśus*[84]. Again land of the extent of 2 *vēlis* and 19 *mā*-s was sold at Kumbakonam in A. D. 1221 for a sum of 450,000 *kāśus*[85]. About the same time, house-site was valued at 40 *kāśus* per *kuḻi* at Nallūr and 16 *kāśus* at Tiruvālangāḍu (Tanjore)[86]. It would seem that the *kāśu* became a coin of somewhat higher value after the close of the reign of Rājarāja III; for the inscriptions of Rājēndra III record prices of landed property that suggest such a conclusion. Two house-sites of the

[81a]553 of 1904.

[82]180 of 1928. cf. 6 *mā* at 13,000 *kāśus* (Tiruvāḍuturai), 156 of 1925—A.D. 1238.

[83]298 of 1927.

[84]504 of 1918.

[85]229 of 1927—*nālu nūṟāyirattu aimbadināyiramum. cf. munnūṟāyirattaṟupadināyiram* of 626 of 1920. The lakh was evidently unknown.

[86]58 of 1911; 96 of 1926.

total extent of twelve *manaik-kōl* were sold for 700 *kāśus* at Kuttālam (Tanjore) in A. D. 1261[87]; one *vēli* and 16 *mā*-s of agricultural land were exchanged five years later, at Tirukkaṇṇapuram, for 5350 *kāśus,* which, we learn, was the equivalent of thirteen *kaḻañjus* of gold[88]; lastly, at Tiruvīḻimiḻalai, nineteen *mā*-s of land found a sale for 1000 *kāśus* and a house-site of 10 *kuḻis* for 300 *kāśus,* in 1267[89]. Rājēndra III made a great effort to resuscitate the Cōḷa empire, and a reform of currency must have been part of his plan. It will be noted also that most of the records of the later Cōḷa period come from the Tanjore district, proof of the waning and disappearance of the direct influence of the central government in the outlying parts.

In comparing the figures cited above with one another, it should be borne in mind that neither the unit of measurement nor the unit of currency was constant, and that owing to local variations in the length of the measuring rod and the number of *kuḻis* that went to the *mā,* and owing to the currency of various types of old and new money of varying weights and fineness, any attempt to make a detailed comparison is rendered altogether fruitless.

Cattle.

Closely allied to agriculture was cattle-raising and dairy-farming, an industry pursued generally by the *manṟāḍis* or shepherds. Here again, we depend much on the

[87] 495 of 1907.
[88] 522 of 1922.
[89] 399 of 1908.

temple records for our information. The *manṟāḍis* seem to have been organised in a professional caste group (*kalanai*), and generally taken charge of the cattle donated to the temples for the maintenance of lamps under stated conditions. Though the *paśu* (cow) and *āḍu* (ewe) are sometimes used only as units of reckoning, still in the majority of instances there is no doubt that live animals are meant, and often enough, breeding bulls and rams form part of the gifts. The importance of cattle-farming may also be inferred from the names of several imposts the exact nature of which is not fully known, such as *nallā, nallerudu, aḻagerudu-kāśu* and so on.

CHAPTER XXII

INDUSTRY AND TRADE

Conditions of Production and Trade.

In most of the common industries the rule was production for the local market. The existence of a brisk internal trade in several articles is indicated by the evidence of the movements of individual merchants and the highly organised state of the mercantile corporations in various parts of the country. A merchant from the *malai-nāḍu* (Malabar) is seen trading in Tiruvaḍandai in the Chingleput district[1], and one from Mylapore is found in Tanjore[2]; and a man from Ceylon endows a lamp in the temple at Sucīndram (South Travancore)[3]. These are not isolated instances, but representative of a large class of similar facts recorded in the inscriptions which show that there was a free and active business intercourse between the different parts of the empire. The expansion of Cōḷa rule was followed by the organisation of a strong centralised administration under a single political power. Except for a few local risings leading to punitive expeditions from time to time, peace was maintained for successive generations over a wide area, which had been cut up till then into a number of independent warring states. In the more settled conditions of the new era, the industrial arts

[1] 263 of 1910.
[2] 147 of 1895.
[3] 71 of 1896.

obtained greater encouragement and the opportunities for trade increased.

Metal work.

The metal industries and the jewellers' art had reached a high state of perfection. Household utensils made of metal were apparently confined to the rich, earthenware being often mentioned in connection with cooking and eating in *śālas*, charitable feeding halls. The detailed descriptions of the images and utensils of the Tanjore temple recorded in the inscriptions, and the bronzes of the period that have survived to this day give proof of the mastery attained by the braziers of the time in the art of manipulating alloys of metals and casting them into the most elaborate and graceful forms. Copper, bronze and brass were employed in such work, besides gold and silver. The variety of jewels and ornaments of gold and precious stones, and the careful record of the numbers and classes of the stones and pearls mounted on each of these would be enough to enable a modern jeweller to reproduce most of them if only he knew their general formation; many of the ornaments mentioned have long since gone out of use, and no really old ornament has survived the ravages of invasion and war; the Tanjore inscriptions however enable one to see that the jeweller's art reached its high-water mark under the Cōḷas, and that the Tanjore jewellers produced the most pleasing results by studying the dispositions of precious stones and pearls with a view to their colour effects. If it is remembered that temples were only glorified palaces, that gods received all the honours

Jewellery.

due to kings (*rājōpacāra*), that kings were the models for their subjects to follow, and if, further, it is realised that the Tanjore temple differs from the hundreds of other temples only in its greater size and in the accuracy and completeness of its surviving inscriptions, it will be seen that it is not easy to exaggerate the importance of the amount of wealth held in the form of jewels or the flourishing state of the goldsmith's trade. Neither the depredation of invading hosts nor the security of established government has succeeded in weaning the people from the hoarding habit. *Pax Britannica* has hardly been more potent in this respect than Malik Kafur and Hyder 'Ali.

Salt.

The inscriptions contain only a limited number of references to the daily occupations and arts of the population, and we have to eke out this scanty information from literature and sculpture. The manufacture of sea-salt was carried on under government supervision and control, and subject to considerable imposts in kind and money, local and central. The salt-pans of Maṟkāṇam, Kanyākumari, Variyūr, and Āytuṟai were among the more important centres of salt manufacture, which was a widespread industry all along the sea coast[4]. Some of the salt pans at Bāpatla were lost owing to encroachment by the sea, and this fact is recorded in 1112.[5]

[4] 23, 24 of 1919; *TAS*, i, pp. 162-4, 247-8; 239 of 1925.
[5] 207 of 1897.

A conspicuous example of particular industries obtaining special recognition in court or in a big temple is furnished by the weavers of Kāñcīpuram. There were four wards (*pāḍis*) of the city inhabited by the class of weavers known as Paṭṭaśālins; they had the distinction of being appointed weavers of royal garments, and Uttama Cōḷa appointed them to the management of the financial affairs of the temple of Ūragam in Kāñcīpuram. The poor residents of Śōḷāniyamam were exempt from the payment of all royal dues in return for their undertaking to maintain the temple accounts properly and submit them to monthly audit by the weavers who had the management of the temple, an arrangement ratified by the *nagaram* of Kāñcīpuram as well[6].

Relation of industry to court and temple.

Of the conditions of transport in internal trade it is not possible to give a detailed account. In South India there was very little scope for the use of natural water-ways for the carriage of merchandise in the interior, and there is no evidence that canals were made for any purpose other than the irrigation of agricultural lands. Roads are mentioned in several inscriptions from all parts of the country, when the boundaries of lands and villages are described. To maintain these roads, great and small, in good repair was part of the duty of local authorities and the villagers were often expected to give freely the labour (*veṭṭi, amañji*) required for it. Two classes

Transport.

[6]Museum plates of Uttama Cōḷa.

of roads may be distinguished; the *vadis* were only slightly better than foot-paths and apparently not suited to wheeled traffic. One such *vadi* in Uttaramērūr was washed away by the floods and the path became unfit for use even by cattle; in remaking the path, the *sabhā* decided to widen it and purchased the adjoining lands from the ryots to whom they belonged[7]. The better class of roads is called *peru-vaḻi,* the great road, in the inscriptions. These were the trunk roads leading from one large division of the country to another, as is seen from their names like the Āndhra road, *Vaḍugapperuvaḻi* or *Āndhrā-patha*[8], the great road to Kongu (*Kongapperuvaḻi*)[9], the big road to Peṇṇāḍam[10], the *Tañjāvūrp-peruvaḻi* mentioned in an inscription from Āḍuturai[11], and, most significant of all, the great road leading to Kalyāṇapuram mentioned in an inscription from the Tanjore district[12]. The breadth of one of these roads is stated to have been two rods (*kōl*), about twenty-four feet[13].

Merchant Guilds. Trade was carried on by merchants banded together in powerful guilds and corporations. The *maṇigrāmam* of Koḍumbāḷūr endowing a charitable trust in Salem[14], the Vaḷañjīyar of Tiruppuṟambiyam[15],

[7] 9 of 1898.
[8] *SII*. iii, 64.
[9] 281 of 1911.
[10] 233 of 1915.
[11] 363 of 1907.
[12] 203 of 1908.
[13] *SII*. iii, 15, l. 2.
[14] 47 of 1888.
[15] 71 of 1897.

are examples of such associations. There were also the Teliki of Bezwada mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājarāja II[16]; the *satyavācakas* (truth-tellers), also called *dhanma-vāṇiyar* (the just merchants) who maintained a *maṭha* called after themselves and supplied the *tiruk-koḍi* (the holy flag) at the three annual festivals at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai[17]; the *sūcakar karuṇākara vīrar* or the *vaḷañjīyar* of Tennilangai who paid contributions from 1189 for the maintenance of a Vaiṣṇava maṭha at Tirukaṇṇapuram[18]; and the *vaḷañjīyar* of Tinnevelly who had the *kārāṇmai* of the lands of the local temple, on condition that they provided for certain specified requirements for the services in the temple.[19] About 1207 A.D. the merchant communities of Nellūr, Nārāyaṇapuram, Ārkāḍu, Mayilāppūr, Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Pūndamali, Neḍumpiṟai, Damanakaccēri, Perungalūr and Tiruniṟu cooperated together in acquiring a whole village and giving it as *dēvadāna* to the temple of Tiruppāśur, for constructing a *madil*, an enclosing wall; the village was left by the merchants in charge of Tammu Siddhi[20]. Again, an inscription of 1235 from Anbil mentions an assemblage of the *Cittira-mēḻip-periya nāṭṭār*, the *tiśai-āyirattu aiññūṟṟuvar*, the *Śeṭṭis* of the nāḍus in many maṇḍalas, *davanac-ceṭṭis*, *Jayapālas*, *munai-vīra-koḍiyar*, the excellent *śilpis*,

[16] 189, 192 of 1897.

[17] 547 of 1902; 550 of 1902.

[18] 505 of 1922.

[19] 28 of 1927.

[20] 120 of 1930.

and the *mudaṟ-paḍai-kalanaiyār*; the assembly described themselves by the phrase *Rājarājap-peru-nīrāviyōm;* the object of the meeting is unfortunately not clear, for the inscription is damaged.[21] Lastly, the *vaḷañjīyar* and the *nānādēśiyat-tiśai-āyirattaiñ-ñūṟṟuvar* built a part of the temple at Tiruviḷakkuḍi[22].

Nānādēśis.

Nānādēśa-Tiśaiyāyirattu Aiññūṟṟuvar, formed the most celebrated of these guilds. This long name is susceptible of two interpretations; the Five Hundred of the thousand directions in all countries, or the One Thousand and Five Hundred from all countries and directions. Seeing, however, that the guild is described sometimes by the terms nānādēśis or aiññūṟṟuvar, the first interpretation seems to be the better of the two. This guild had a long and notable record of achievement. Its importance may be taken to antedate the rise of the Imperial Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line; for two short inscriptions from Muniśandai in the Pudukkōṭṭāh state, most probably of the time of Vijayālaya and Parāntaka I, show that this corporation was already well established, the tank at Muniśandai being called after it; the inscriptions record endowments for the periodical repair of the tank.[22a] Members of this corporation obtained some houses assigned to them about A. D. 1015 by the *sabhā* of Nigarili-śōḻa-caturvēdimangalam for

[21] 601 of 1902.

[22] 131 of 1926.

[22a] *Tijdschrift voor Ind. Taal—, Land— en Volkenkunde*, Deel, lxxiv, 1934, pp. 614–8, where S. R. Balasubrahmaniam draws attention to these records.

being used as residences or warehouses[23]. In A. D. 1033 is recorded a gift of land for a service in a Śiva temple at Ambāsamudram for the benefit (*ṡiṟappu*) of the same guild[24].

The fragmentary Tamil inscription from Loboe Toewa, in Sumatra, mentions this body of merchants and bears the date Śaka 1010 (A.D. 1088), clear proof of the active share of the guild in the extensive overseas trade of the time. Some inscriptions from the Mysore area[25] furnish important and interesting details of the myths relating to the origin and organisation of the guild, the articles of merchandise in which its members carried on trade, the countries with which they traded, and the means of transport employed by them. Born of the race of Vāsudēva, Kandaḷi and Mūlabhadra, they were favoured by the goddess Bhagavati, and comprised many subdivisions, born to wanderers over many countries. They visited 'the Cēra, Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Maleya, Magadha, Kausala, Saurāṣṭra, Dhānuṣtra, Kurumba, Kāmbhoja, Lāḷa, Baruvara, Nēpāḷa, Ēkapada, Lambakarṇa, Strī-Rājya, Ghōḷa-mukha, and many other countries,' and by land routes and water routes they penetrated into the regions of the six continents. Their trade was in superior elephants, well-bred horses, precious stones of all sorts, spices, perfumes and drugs. They sold them wholesale or hawked them about on their shoulders. They often carried their merchandise on

[23] 651 of 1916.
[24] 82 of 1907.
[25] *EC.* iv, Hg. 17, vii, Sk. 118.

the backs of asses and buffaloes 'adorned with red trappings.' They were famous for their 'five Hundred *vīra-śāsanas.*' One such *vīra-śāsana* is found recorded in an inscription[26] of the reign of Rājādhirāja I, dated in his thirty-second year *c.* A. D. 1050. By a resolution of their body, the *nānādēśis* and their followers resolved to convert the village of Śirāvaḷḷi into a *nānādēśīya-daśamaḍi-eṟi-vīrappaṭṭina* and to confer certain privileges on its residents. The record also describes the merchant guild as a *samaya* and states that it was served by (*samayattu tiruvaḍikkup-paṇi śeyyum*) regiments of foot-soldiers and swordsmen. There was another meeting at Mylapore of the same body of merchants which decided to convert Kāṭṭūr, originally an Ayyapuḷal, into a *vīrapaṭṭina,* a status which implied a privileged position in the country's trade[27]. Again in 1199 a meeting of the *nāḍu* and *nagaram* of Ūṭṭattūr (Trichinopoly district) granted the village of Veṇmaṇip-pāḍi, converting it into a mercantile town called Tāyilu-nalla-puram[28].

The *nānādēśis* then were a powerful and autonomous corporation of merchants whose activities apparently took little or no account of political boundaries. They visited all countries in the course of their trade, and everywhere they enjoyed a respected and privileged position. In the Cōḷa kingdom they received recognition alike from the central

[26] 342 of 1912. Another *eṟi-vīra-paṭṭiṇa* was Muttukura in the same neighbourhood (321 of 1912).

[27] 256 of 1912. The part of the inscription recording these privileges is very obscure in its language.

[28] 521 of 1912.

government and from local agencies like the village *sabhās*. They had their own mercenary army, doubtless for the protection of the merchandise in their warehouses and in transit. They also concerned themselves in the details of local administration in the places where they were settled. In Maḷūrpaṭṇa they undertook to cooperate with the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in enforcing the regular collection of the interest due to the temple on a perpetual loan from the members of the sabhā of Vaṇḍūr, also called Śōḷa-mādēvi-caturvēdimangalam. This was early in the reign of Rājēndra I[29]. Their success and prosperity were to some extent independent of the vicissitudes of war and peace among the states in which they carried on trade. In the thirteenth century, there was at Pagan in Burma a Viṣṇu temple built by the *nānādēśis* and gifts were made to it by a merchant from one of the port towns on the Malabar coast[30].

Merchant guilds in relation to the State.

A recent writer has pointed out the differences between mercantile organisations in Europe and in the East[31]. Speaking of European trade with China, he contrasts the radical weakness of the Chinese commercial class as compared with the European. 'The great chartered companies of Europe had monopoly rights and state backing; they sinned against the light of free trade no less than the Chinese guilds, but they stood for the self-organisation and

[29] 512 of 1911.
[30] *EI.* vii, pp. 197-8.
[31] Hudson—*Europe and China*, p. 265.

autonomy of the merchant class, not the mere rapacity of government officials. In China the merchant was powerless against officialdom ; politically he was nothing ; there was no tradition of city-state commercialism to teach him his potential strength. In Europe the *bourgeois* was rising to be master of the state; in China he was but the servile agent of the mandarins.' In South India, the merchants had certainly more freedom and scope for initiative, and a better capacity for voluntary organisation than in China; they were less at the mercy of government officials, and exercised a great deal of autonomy in the regulation of their affairs. The state was not eager to interfere in their transactions, and would not do so except on invitation. On the other hand, the state did not, it could not, give the strong backing to its merchants engaged in foreign trade that the European state provided. Neither the merchants nor the state in South India had any idea of the possibilities of economic imperialism. Trade to them was an end in itself; they were willing to carry on trade if conditions were favourable ; it never occurred to them that foreign lands may be compelled to buy and sell at the point of the bayonet.

Nagaram.

There were also local organisations of merchants called *nagaram* in big centres of trade like Kāñcīpuram and Māmallapuram[32]. What the relation was between these local bodies of traders and the more general groups like the Maṇigrāmam and the Nānādēśis or Vaḷañjīyar cannot

[32] *SII.* iii, Museum plates of Uttama Cōḷa and 171 of 1894.

be determined with precision. That Brahmins also occasionally engaged in trade becomes clear from a direct mention of the Brahmins who engaged in trade along with the Vaḷañjīyar in the South bazaar of Eṇṇāyiram[33], a large centre of Vaiṣṇavism and education, in the modern district of South Arcot. The *nagarams* used to raise voluntary contributions from their members for specific purposes. To give just one example: in A.D. 1037, the *nagaram* of the town of Vāḷaiyūr[34] resolved that the lamps to be maintained by them in the local temple and the interest due from them on moneys borrowed from the temple were to be met from the proceeds of a regular payment in future of certain dues laid on their commercial transactions in accordance with a schedule,—the buyer and seller each giving a *kāl-aḷavupāṭṭam* of one *nāḻi* per *kalam* (on grains), a *kōl-kūli* (weighment-cess) of one *palam* per *niṟai*, ten betel-nuts for every thousand exchanged and so on. Many other instances can be traced in the inscriptions of a similar exercise of the privileges of autonomy in the regulation of the internal affairs of the groups.

Śungam.

On customs and octroi duties in this period we have little direct evidence. Kulōttunga I is celebrated in contemporary literature and epigraphy for abolishing the *śungam*. We seem to have no detailed account of this most important transaction of the reign, and there is no means of knowing how this was managed, and

[33] 343 of 1917.
[34] 82 of 1906.

what steps, if any, were taken to fill the gap in the revenues of the government caused by the remission. (The word *śungam* is explained generally as including all the imposts on articles of merchandise imported in ships and carts, that is to say, from across the seas or the interior[35].)

Pro-note.

The "I. O. U." as an instrument of borrowing was apparently in common use. It is mentioned quite casually in an inscription from Tiruvāḍuturai of the reign of Rājarāja I[36]. The *sabhā* of that place owed some money to a Kaikkōḷa which they had borrowed from him on a pro-note (*kaiyeḷuttōlai*). For some reasons not recorded, the entire property of the Kaikkōḷan became *rājasvam*, that is, it was confiscated by the king who naturally sought thereupon to realise the money due from the *sabhā*. These facts are recorded in explanation of the assignment to the temple of some of the village lands in lieu of the money then borrowed by the *sabhā* for paying off the king. Another instance of borrowing on a pro-note is the loan of 100 *kāśus* from a temple in Puñjai to the *mūla-paruḍai* of Talaiccangāḍu mentioned in an inscription of the reign of Rājēndra I[37].

Interest rate.

Wide divergences are traceable in the rate of interest on loans, and also in the manner in which the rate is expressed and calculated. The rate of 12½% per annum, of ⅛ *kaḷañju* per *kaḷañju* of gold, was for

[35] Parimēlaḷagar on *Kuṟaḷ*, 756; ante pp. 50–1.
[36] 105 of 1925.
[37] 187 of 1925.

long the standard rate on the investment of religious endowments[38], though 15 per cent or 3 *mañjāḍis* per *kaḻañju*[39] also obtained in many instances. The lowest rate met with is 5 per cent or one *mañjāḍi* per *kaḻañju,* though this rate is coupled with the reign of Vijaya Kamapavarman, and not a Cōḷa king.[40] Higher rates of money interest are also found though not so frequently as the normal 12½ or 15 per cent. Thus we have rates like 12½ per cent per half-year (*pū*) working to 25 per cent per annum[41]; four hundred *kaḻañjus* yielding one hundred and fifty per annum, 37½ per cent[42]; or even a 50 per cent rate expressed as half *kāśu* per annum per *kāśu*[43]. These rates cannot be explained easily at present ; it is certain, however that they are not due to differences either in the purpose of the loan or investment or in the political conditions affecting social security. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion made little difference in the prevailing rate of interest as can be seen from inscriptions quoting Kṛṣṇa's regnal years[44]; the higher and the lower rates of interest alike prevail in the reign of Rājēndra I, when there was little or no disturbance to internal security. Very often the rate of interest is expressed in terms of commodities and sometimes even

[38] *SII.* ii, Intr. p. 17, 255 of 1921; 8 of 1897—grain rate. 147 of 1906 gives the rate ⅛ *kāśu* per *kāśu;* 1 of 1893 gives ⅛ *tiramam* per *kāśu* per month.

[39] 75 of 1898; 164, 169, 172, 179 of 1912; 176 of 1915; 216 of 1921. 19 of 1907 calls the rate *dharmap-poliśai.*

[40] *SII.* iii, 128—ll. 36-7.

[41] 16 of 1899. 57 of 1928 gives the rate 10 *kāśus* on 40; also 518 of 1920.

[42] 203 of 1925.

[43] 193 of 1925. 281 of 1910 also gives a 50% rate.

[44] 179 of 1912.

the principal of the loan is also a given quantity of some commodity, usually grain. The divergences in the commodity-rates are quite as wide and as unaccountable as in money-rates. The lowest grain-rate of interest per *kaḻañju* of gold is one *kalam* per annum[45]; the highest rate goes up to 3 *kalams*[46], and even four[47]; the more common rate is in the neighbourhood of a *kalam*, or a *kalam* and third. In one and the same region and at the same time, two village assemblies are seen borrowing from one creditor, a temple, at the different rates of ⅔ *kalam* and one *kalam* per *kaḻañju* per annum[48]. Generally high rates of interest, seldom less than 25 per cent, are quoted when the principal is expressed in terms of grain[49], and in one case there occurs the impossibly high rate of 75 per cent per annum[50]. Another way in which different rates of interest find expression is by means of the adoption of different rates of capitalisation for purposes of endowments of the same service; thus the supply of a quarter measure of oil every day is provided for by the endowment of 18 *kaḻañjus*, 3 *mañjāḍis* and 1 *kunṟi* of gold in one instance, and by that of just 10 *kaḻañjus* in another[51].

That there must have been a great amount of borrowing and lending among traders and merchants in the normal course of their business we may take

[45] 316 of 1903.
[46] 58 of 1897.
[47] 90 of 1928.
[48] Museum Plates, ll. 28-34.
[49] 30 *kalams* per 100 called *dharmap-poliśai* in 506 of 1920.
[50] 232 of 1923.
[51] *SII*. I, 84 and 67 of 1895.

for granted; but of such transactions no record seems to have survived. Almost all the investments recorded in the inscriptions are of charitable funds generally ear-marked for specific purposes, and sometimes a certain stability is imparted to these purposes by the investments and the terms governing them being made irrevocable. Thus a merchant from Malai-nāḍu invested 16⅛ *kaḻañjus* of gold in a *vāḍākkaḍan*, permanent loan, from the interest whereof twelve Brahmins were to be fed for one month (*Kumbha*) every year in the temple of Varāhadēva at Tiruvaḍandai (Chingleput)[52]. Again the *ūr* of Kōnēri accepted a loan of five *kaḻañjus* from a temple in Kāñcīpuram subject to the conditions that they should pay interest at 1⅝ *kalams* per *kaḻañju* per annum and that they should at no time offer to return the principal of the loan.[53] An inscription from Maḷūrpaṭna (Bangalore) of the reign of Rājēndra I provides another example which is of great interest for the sanctions it lays down to enforce conformity to the terms of the loan.[54] The grain-principal (*nellu- mudal*) of the perpetual loan was 320 *kalams* and the rate of interest 3¾ *kuṟuṇis* per *kalam* per annum yielding in all 100 kalams in a year, to be remitted in two instalments, 50 *kalams* at each of the two harvests. The borrowers were the members of the *sabhā* of Vaṇḍūr who agreed to give two meals a day to the persons delegated to collect this grain-interest; these persons might resort, if necessary,

[52] 273 of 1910.
[53] 64 of 1893.
[54] 512 of 1911, (*EC.* ix, Cp. 129).

to processes of distraint such as stopping the supply of water and fire, surrounding the habitation, and impounding cattle. Nothing is stated in explanation of these rather drastic sanctions and we cannot say if they ever were actually enforced. The problem of modern finance is to fund public debts in order to secure stable interest charges; the problem that the temples of South India had to face once was that of securing a fixed income as interest on their investments, of funding their loans as it were.

Transfer of property.

The transfer of immovable property by sale or gift was generally attended with more formalities than that of movables. The ordinary transactions among individual owners are seldom represented in the records before us. Only those of public interest are found recorded in inscriptions, and an analysis of the sales of land so recorded reveals that at least four types were distinguished among them. They are: (1) *ājñākrayam* (2) the *peruvilai* (great sale) of some king (named) (3) the *peruvilai* of Caṇḍēśvara and (4) *sabhaivilai* or *ūr-vilai*. The first of these was sale by *ājñā* or royal order of the properties of persons found guilty of treason against the king or his family. The leading example of this class is the sale recorded in the Uḍaiyārguḍi inscription[55] of the properties of persons involved in the murder of Āditya II. The *peruvilai* of the kings was the sale of the lands of cultivators in the processes of revenue-collection when other means of collection had failed. The

[55]577 of 1920; also 379 of 1922.

Caṇḍēśvara-peruvilai was the sale of land by Śiva temples, Caṇḍēśvara representing Śiva as his *ādi-dāsa,* first devotee, in such transactions. The corresponding term, if any, for describing sales by Viṣṇu temples does not seem to appear anywhere. The *sabhai-* or *ūr-vilai* was, as the name implies, the sale of land from the common land of the commune effected by the local assembly of the village. A careful study of the prices mentioned in these different classes of sales points to the conclusion that they were often governed by extra-economic considerations, and this may be the reason why the nature of the sale was specifically mentioned in each such case. The rates specified had apparently little or no relation to the market value of land in the neighbourhood. It is probable that in the *peruvilai* (lit. great sale) something like a public auction was the method of sale followed, the usual procedure being to cry out the upset price in a public place at a time fixed in advance, and await the response of those present at the sale. It is doubtful if it was a real auction where bidding against one another on the part of the buyers was allowed; the formula in the inscriptions suggests only the announcement of a fixed price together with the other terms, if any, on which the property was offered, and the acceptance by the buyer[56].

The main features of the formulae adopted in documents, sale or gift deeds, conveying property in land may be briefly noted. The minute care with which the boundaries were described in each case may

[56] 458 of 1905.

be seen from the copper-plate grants like those of Anbil, Ānaimangalam and Tiruvālangāḍu. The same feature marks the stone inscriptions as well, though the description is often more summary in form and therefore much shorter than in the copper plates. Then the phrase *'mikudik-kuṟai-uḷḷaḍanga'*, 'including excess or shortage,' is invariably employed, and this implies that the boundaries rather than the measurements stated formed the decisive factors. Then there occured phrases which excluded other properties like old *dēvadānas,* canals, roads etc., which were not meant to be conveyed. Like gift-deeds, sale-deeds also often contained details of the rights inherent in the property conveyed. These included the ownership of the subsoil, trees, hills, wells etc., irrigation-rights, easement rights and so on. The document usually concluded with a declaration that the price agreed upon had been fully paid and the land duly conveyed, and that the document concerned was to serve as the acquittance for the sale price[57] and that no other receipt or acquittance was to be demanded in the future. One sale deed from Ārpākkam [58] dated 1232 A.D. contains the following provisions: a declaration that the land sold was subject to no encumbrance and that if, in future, the existence of any encumbrance was discovered, the vendor would release the land from it; the usual clause about acquittance for the sale price; a declaration that the purchaser acquired all the rights over the land including the rights to sell, mortgage and give away;

[57] 219 of 1894; 305 of 1911, 522 of 1922 etc.
[58] 137 of 1923.

that the vendor was not to raise objections at a later stage and plead that the document was void on the score of imperfect wording, illegibility of letters and so on. An inscription from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai (1204 A.D.) [59] records a resolution of the *māhēśvaras* that houses built on sites in the Tirumaḍai-viḷāgam (temple area) were to be sold at a price to be fixed by a superintendent (kaṇkāṇi) from the temple treasury, and that half the sale proceeds must be remitted to the temples, the owner of the house being entitled only to the balance. Very often a payment is made in addition to the price of land to cover the future taxes and dues on the land so that it may be conveyed tax-free; in these cases this further payment is also mentioned in the documents and the taxes intended to be remitted specified in detail. Sometimes the *iṟai-kāval* was a separate document, that is when the taxes were commuted sometime after the purchase of the land.

From very early times Southern India carried on a flourishing commerce with the nations across the seas on either side of the peninsula. From the fourth century A. D. or thereabout, the Persians, rather than the Arabs, were the most venturesome mariners of the Indian ocean. In the Chinese annals of the fifth, sixth and early seventh centuries, all the products of Ceylon and India, with others from Arabia and Africa, are classed as "products of Persia"[60]. The direct sea-route between China and India is, however, known to have come into common use by the close of the seventh century, and I-tsing mentions no fewer

[59] 486 of 1902.
[60] Chau Ju-kua, pp. 7-8.

than thirty-seven Chinese pilgrims who took this route to India in his time[61]. At no time had Indian merchantmen ever ceased to frequent the shores of the Malay peninsula and the islands of the archipelago, even Indo-china and China. (Mahābalipuram, Kāviri-ppūmpaṭṭinam, Śāliyūr and Koṛkai on the east coast, and Quilon on the West were great emporiums frequented by the traders of other countries.) Ceylon and the Nicobars in the East, the Laccadives and the Maldives in the West furnished good halting places for ships bound on long voyages.

The Persian Gulf.

Towards the ninth century A.D. the countries of Southern Asia had developed an extensive maritime and commercial activity, and had attained a prosperity unequalled in history[62]. The Tang empire in China, Śrī Vijaya under the powerful line of the Śailēndras, and the Abbasid Khalifat at Baghdad were the chief states outside India that flourished on this trade. The political troubles in China in the latter part of the ninth century interrupted the established trade relations for a time. China became unsafe for the foreign traders who now retired to the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, whither the Chinese ships had to go for the purchase of foreign goods. This was the beginning of the Chinese navigation of the high seas. In the twelfth century, Cantonese sea-going junks went as far west as Quilon on the Malabar Coast.[63]

[61] *ibid.*, p. 9, n. 1.
[62] Ferrand—*Voyage*, pp. 14-15.
[63] Chau Ju-kua, p. 18.

Siraf on the eastern coast of the Persian Gulf[64] was the chief emporium in the West in this period. "Here", says Ibn Hawqal, a contemporary Arab writer, "there is not any husbandry or cultivation of the ground; and they bring water from a distance. There are not any trees immediately about Siraf; and the inhabitants devote their whole time to commerce and merchandise"[65]. Such was the importance of the trade of Siraf, that, despite the disadvantages of its situation and climate, the town was covered with very fine edifices and was very populous. The sailors and merchants of the entire Indian ocean, Chinese, Javanese, Malay and Indian, came frequently to Siraf for exchanging their products. Siraf then was a cosmopolitan city, and its chief merchants, when they received strangers as guests, took scrupulous care to conform to their manners and customs. After mentioning the existence in India of a caste of which the members never ate off the same plate or at the same table, Abu Zaid tells us : " when these sectaries resort to Siraf and one of the principal merchants invites them to a repast in his house, at which about 100 persons assist, it is necessary that the host causes to be placed before each one of these sectaries a plate in which he eats and which is exclusively reserved for him"[66]. The use of separate plates for eating was, of course, not confined to any single caste or sect, as Abu Zaid thought, but was the universal rule in India. The statement is valuable as evidence of the trade and

[64]The modern Tahiri, 27° 38′. N., 52° 20′ E.
[65]Wilson—*The Persian Gulf*, p. 94.
[66]Ferrand—*Voyage*, p. 138.

social relations maintained by Indians with the rest of the world in the ninth and tenth centuries.

China.

At the end of the tenth century, the political situation in China had become normal again, and the Sung government of the day evinced a great interest in the foreign trade of the country. The trade was made a government monopoly, and strenuous efforts were made to increase its volume. "A mission was sent abroad by the emperor with credentials under the imperial seal and provisions of gold and piece-goods to induce 'the foreign traders of the South Sea and those who went to foreign lands beyond the sea to trade' to come to China. Special licenses to import goods were promised them"[67]. How eager the Cōḷas were to take advantage of the extended opportunities thus opened to them is evident from the missions sent to China by Rājarāja and Rājēndra. The great distance between the Cōḷa country and China, and the novelty of the direct connection now started, prevented the proud Chinese government from giving adequate recognition to the position and importance attained by the Cōḷas. Their envoys took with them very valuable presents, but they were only ranked with those of a vassal state in Eastern Turkestan[68]. The Cōḷa embassy which reached China in 1015 after spending over three years on the way must have left the Cōḷa country towards the close of the rule of Rājarāja, Lo-tsa-lo-tsa of the Chinese chronicles. Chau Ju-Kua says of this embassy:[69]

[67] Chau Ju-kua, p. 19.
[68] Chau Ju-kua, p. 101, n. 11.
[69] p. 96.

"In former times they did not send tribute to our court, but 'in the eighth year of the *ta-chung* and *siang-fu* periods (A.D. 1015), its (of Chu-lien) sovereign sent a mission with pearls and like articles as tribute. The interpreters, in translating their speech, said they wished to evince the respect of a distant nation for (Chinese) civilisation.' They were ordered by Imperial Decree to remain in waiting at the side gate of the Palace, and to be entertained at a banquet by the Associates in the College of Court Annalists. By Imperial favour they were ranked with the envoys of K'iu-tz'i. It happened to be the Emperor's birthday, and the envoys had a fine opportunity to witness the congratulations in the Sacred Enclosure." Fewer details have survived of the other embassy from Shi-(lo)-lo-cha yin-to-lo chu-lo (Śrī-rāja Indra Cōḷa) which reached China in A. D. 1033. The trade thus started with China appears to have been carried on without interruption in the eleventh century, and in the language of the Annalists of the Celestial court, the Cōḷa kings continued to send 'tribute' to that court. The naval expedition of Rājēndra against Śrī Vijaya and the success achieved by that expedition rendered communication with the 'Southern seas' and the empire of China more easy and regular than it was ever before. The appeal to Vīrarājēndra for help in the settlement of the political affairs of Kaḍāram confirms our view of the relations between the Cōḷas and the kingdoms of the east. Another Cōḷa embassy to China of the year 1077 is also mentioned and the name of the contemporary Cōḷa king, Kulōttunga I, is given in a corrupt form in the Sung annals[70].

[70]Chau Ju-kua, p. 100. Ante p. 25.

Articles of Trade.

The chief articles of merchandise that entered into this long distance trade were necessarily goods that carried great value for small bulk. Of Siraf, the Arab writer, Istakhri (tenth century) says[71]: "The imports are aloes wood (for burning), amber, camphor, precious gems, bamboos, ivory, ebony, paper, sandalwood, and all kinds of Indian perfumes, drugs and condiments. In the town itself excellent napkins are made, also linen veils, and it was a great market for pearls." From the middle of the eleventh century Siraf began to decline in importance, and the island of Qais or Kish began to take its place as the entrepot of Indian trade. The Jewish traveller from Spain, Benjamin of Tudela, relates that about the middle of the twelfth century A. D., the island of Kish marked the limit of the voyages of Indian merchants trading with Persia and the West. "Kish", he says[72], "is a considerable market, being the point to which Indian merchants and those of the islands bring their commodities; while the traders of Mesopotamia, Yemen and Persia import all sorts of silk and purple cloths, flax, cotton, hemp, mash (a kind of pea), wheat, barley, millet, rye and all other sorts of comestibles and pulse, which articles form objects of exchange; those from India import great quantities of spices, and the inhabitants of the island live by what they gain in their capacity of brokers of both parties. The island contains about five hundred Jews."

[71] Wilson—*The Persian Gulf*, p. 94.

[72] R. H. Major: *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Intrn. pp. xlv—l. Also Wilson, *op. cit.* pp. 98-9.

The rise into importance of the Arab trade in horses which flourished for many centuries on a large scale must be traced to the period of the growth and expansion of Cōḷa dominion in Southern India. The important role of cavalry in the Cōḷa army and the armies of other powers opposed to them is clearly brought out by the inscriptions. There are also frequent references in them to *kudiraic-ceṭṭis*[73], dealers in horses, who no doubt imported horses from abroad, particularly Arabia and perhaps Pegu, and distributed them among the princes and nobles in the land. As these *Ceṭṭis* are often said to come from *malai-nāḍu*[74], it is reasonable to infer that Arabia supplied the bulk of the horses imported into South India. The extensive trade described by Marco Polo and Wassaf in the beginning of the fourteenth century could not have sprung up suddenly, and its beginnings must be traced to Cōḷa times if not to an earlier period.

Horse trade.

"The imports into China in this trade", says Rockhill[75], "consisted of two distinct categories of goods, the one manufactured textile fabrics (mostly of cotton), spices and drugs, and the other, and by far the most valuable intrinsically, jewels and semi-precious substances, such as ivory, rhinoceros' horn, ebony, amber, coral and the like, and various aromatic products and

Chinese imports.

[73] 556 of 1904. The import of war-horses may have begun earlier under the Kadambas and the Pallavas. The reference in *Pallavāśva-samsthena kalahena* of the Tālgunda inscription of Kākusthavarman (*EI.* viii, p. 32 l. 4) and some ancient sculptures may be recalled in this connection. Also *Paṭṭinappālai*, l. 185.

[74] 196 of 1928; 182 of 1926.

[75] *T'oung Pao*, xv, p. 419.

perfumes, used either in the preparation of incense or for perfuming the body." The high value of the second category of goods and the increasing demand for them led the Chinese government to declare their sale a government monopoly. Trade in these articles was open only to licensed vendors who bought their supplies at government warehouses in quantities and at prices fixed by government. Trade in cotton fabrics, spices and drugs was under no restrictions, and subject only to an import duty payable in kind and varying from one-tenth to two-tenths of the goods imported. Besides this import duty collected at the time of their entering the port, these goods had also to bear a fixed tonnage tax on the ship. This trade was felt on the whole to be beneficial to China and caused no anxiety to the government. In course of time, however, grave abuses developed in connection with the trade in luxuries, and the drain of currency and precious metals resulting from its expansion was such as to cause the government very serious concern. These evils came to light in the twelfth century, and the Chinese government had to embark on legislation calculated to prohibit the exportation of precious metals and coined money and to restrict the volume of trade with Ma'bar and Kulum (i.e. the Coromandel coast and Quilon).

In the face of strong discouragement from the Chinese government, the commercial relations between China and South India appear to have been sustained with more or less regularity, to the end of the thirteenth century. The Loboe Toewa (Sumatra) Tami

fragment of Ś. 1010 (A.D. 1088) which mentions the Tiśai-Āyirattaiññūṟṟuvar shows that the merchants of South India had settlements outside India, and it is quite possible that small settlements of these traders were found in all important entrepots of the Persian Gulf and the China sea. Hindu sculptures of decidedly South Indian origin have been discovered in a Chinese temple in the port-town of Ch'üan-chou, opposite to Formosa; these sculptures represent Purāṇic themes like the Gajēndra-mōkṣa and Kṛṣṇa tied to a mortar between trees and so on, and are best placed in the twelfth or thirteenth century. It seems possible therefore that a colony of South Indian merchants had settled in the port-town of Ch'üan-chou, which has been identified with the Zayton of the mediaeval travellers.[75a]

The list of the products of the Cōḷa country given by Chau Ju-Kua shows that the list of articles imported by China from there remained practically unchanged at the beginning of the thirteenth century. He says:[76] "The native products comprise pearls, elephants' tusks, coral, transparent glass, betelnuts, cardamoms, opaque glass, cotton stuffs with coloured silk threads, and cotton stuffs." The same author notes also that the taxes and imposts of the Cōḷa kingdom were numerous and heavy and that consequently traders rarely went there; the criticism is obviously based on a general comparison with Chinese customs duties and should not be pressed far; for we

[75a] *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (1933), pp. 5–11.
[76] p. 96.

have much other evidence on the flourishing condition of the foreign trade of South India and on the presence of small settlements of foreign merchants in port-towns. There are in existence accounts of several exchanges of missions between South India and the Mongol emperor Kublai Khan, all of which followed the sea-route and were partly commercial and partly diplomatic in character, but as these relate almost exclusively to the period of Pāṇḍyan ascendancy and have little direct connection with the Cōḷa kingdom, they need not be detailed here. For the same reason, the account of Ma'bar given by Marco Polo, very interesting and important in itself, deserves only a passing mention in a study of Cōḷa history.

Benjamin of Tudela states that Chulam was seventeen days by sea from Kish; Chulam may therefore be Quilon or some other port more to the north on the West coast of India and probably subject to Cōḷa rule. Of the people of this place, their government and country, Benjamin observes:[77] "They are descendants of Khush, are addicted to astrology and are all black. This nation is very trustworthy in matters of trade, and whenever foreign merchants enter their port, three secretaries of the king immediately repair on board the vessels, write down their names and report them to him; the king thereupon grants them security for their property, which they may even leave in the open fields, without any guard. One of the king's officers sits in the market, and receives goods that may have been

[77] R. H. Major, *ibid.*

found anywhere, and which he returns to those applicants who can minutely describe them. This custom is observed in the whole empire of the king." Regarding the hours of business, Benjamin also says : "From Easter to new year (from April to October), during the whole of the summer the heat is extreme. From the third hour of the day (nine o'clock in the morning) people shut themselves up in their houses until the evening at which time everybody goes out. The streets and markets are lighted up and the inhabitants employ all the night upon their business which they are prevented from doing in the day time, in consequence of excessive heat."

There is perhaps no better evidence of the partial nature of our Indian sources than our being thrown almost exclusively on Arab and Chinese sources for our knowledge of this most important aspect of national life, viz. the foreign trade of the Cōḷa empire.

Chapter XXIII

COINS, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

The absence of prominent land-marks in the numismatic history of Southern India, and the small proportion of inscribed specimens of coins discovered so far have stood in the way of a scientific treatment of the coinage of the South. At the same time the relative richness of epigraphical material has contributed to make the study of South Indian history largely independent of the always difficult and none too certain conclusions of numismatics.

Two weight standards.

Two weight systems are traceable from the ancient coins of the South. 'The gold *gadyāṇa* coin of the Deccan averages 58 grains, the heaviest reaching 60·1 grains'; this was the standard unit called *gadyāṇa* or *kaḻañju* in the Tamil country[1]. If the weight of the lost gold coin of Uttama Cōḻan figured by Elliot[2] is correctly recorded as 50 to 60 grains, this coin must have followed the old *gadyāṇa* standard and must have remained in circulation late in the tenth century. The survival to late times of a small cess called *Kumārakaccāṇam*[3] may be accepted as confirmation of the same fact. But in the Cōḻa period the more usual standard was the *kaḻañju* of twenty *mañjāḍis* equal in theory to 72 grains, but sometimes going

[1] Codrington—*Ceylon Coins and Currency*, pp. 6-7.
[2] *CSI.* No. 151.
[3] *TAS.* I, p. 165; 182 of 1915.

up to 80[4]. It is apparently this unit of bullion weight that is employed in an inscription of the thirtieth year of Parāntaka I which equates the *kaḻañju* with the *niṣka* (Sanskrit)[5]. When exactly the Cōḻa currency was brought into line with this weight standard does not admit of precise determination.

Pon; māḍai.

By the side of several inscriptions which seem to employ the *kaḻañju* in recording payments by weight, there are some which mention the *pon* and equate it to the *kaḻañju*, implying thereby that the *pon* was coined gold of the full weight of one *kaḻañju*[6]. This coin was also called *madhurāntakadēvan-māḍai*, served as the standard of fineness for testing gold[7], and yielded the same interest as one *kaḻañju* of fine gold. This coin is mentioned in the thirty-first year of Rājarājadēva[8], and if this king was Rājarāja I, as seems likely, its issue must have been commenced under his predecessor Madhurāntaka Uttama Cōḻa.

Kāśu.

Exactly half of this *māḍai* was the Rājarājan *kāśu*[9], issued apparently by Rājarāja I. But the *kāśu* of this weight and fineness was certainly in use earlier than the time of Rājarāja I. A record[10] of the fourth year of Āditya II mentions that twenty *kāśus* were equal to

[4]Codrington, pp. 3 and 7.

[5]*SII*. iii, 104; also 181 of 1912.

[6]49 of 1888, 54 of 1893, etc. *contra* Codrington:—'The early mediaeval *pon* seems to be a *kaḻañju* of gold, and not necessarily a coin'. (p. 52).

[7]140 of 1912; *ARE*. 1913, II, 22.

[8]252 of 1915.

[9]141 of 1912. Mentioned also in 484 of 1925, A.D. 1054.

[10]241 of 1923.

ten *kaḻañjus*. It was in vogue after Rājarāja also, as the same relation between the *kāśu* and *kaḻañju* reappears in some of the later inscriptions[11]. In fact both the *māḍai* and the *kāśu*, the standard gold coins of the realm, were issued by each one of the Cōḷa kings of the period before 1070—the different issues being distinguished in epigraphy by the names of the kings being prefixed to those of the coins in question: thus we have expressions like the *māḍai* of Rājarāja[12], the *māḍai* of Rājēndraśōḻan[13],—a phrase which by the way makes it more likely that the *madhurāntakadēvan-māḍai* was issued by Rājarāja's predecessor, *anṟāḍu-naṟkāśu* meaning 'good current *kāśu*', and *paḻangāśu* ('old *kāśu*')[14] and sometimes even *anṟāḍu-(naṟ)-paḻangāśu*, current (good) old *kāśu*, in later inscriptions[15].

The *madhurāntakan māḍai* was still current in the reign of Kulōttunga I[16]; and it is said to have been equivalent to the *kaḻañju* of the fineness of 9½ *māṟi* or two *kāśus*[17]. That this high standard was not maintained at all times in the actual currency goes without saying, and the inscriptions give valuable evidence on the extent of the departure from the standard at different times and places.

[11] 203 of 1925; 228 of 1923.

[12] 104 of 1925. This *māḍai* is used as the standard of fineness in 671 of 1919.

[13] 203 of 1925.

[14] 629 of 1916; 484 of 1925.

[15] 71 of 1926; 217 of 1901; 329 of 1929.

[16] 17 of 1893; 180 of 1911.

[17] 90 of 1928.

Local issues.

From the reign of Kulōttunga I, several other types of *māḍais* make their appearance in the inscriptions, and these were undoubtedly issued by local rulers who were feudatories of the Cōḷa empire. Examples of such issues are: the *jayamāḍa* mentioned in a record from Cebrōlu dated Ś. 998[18]; the *uttama-gaṇḍa-māḍa* of a Bāpatla inscription[19]; the *cāmara-māḍa* and the *biruda-māḍa* in somewhat later records from the same place[20]; the *nakki-māḍa* mentioned in an inscription from Kāñcīpuram, dated in the fourteenth year of Rājādhirāja II[21], and recording a gift from a chieftain from Ganga-maṇḍalam, who had the title Bhujabalavīran; the *Bhujabala-māḍai,* first mentioned in an inscription of the third year of Kulōttunga, perhaps the third of that name, from Nandalūr[22], and in later records from Kāñcīpuram and Tiruppālaivanam[23]; the *paḷam-puḷḷi-māḍai* of a record from Tirumullaivāyil dated 1232[24]; and the *gaṇḍagōpālan-māḍai* obviously issued by the Telugu-Cōḍa chieftains of Nellore who were contemporary with Rājarāja III and Rājēndra III[25].

By a dexterous use of two inscriptions of the same time and locality, Codrington seeks to establish that the fineness of the *madhurāntakan-māḍai* was roughly

[18]151 of 1897.

[19]236 of 1897.

[20]210 of 1897; 176 of 1897.

[21]48 of 1893.

[22]586 of 1907.

[23]360 of 1919, 311 of 1929. *ARE*. 1929, II, 38.

[24]674 of 1904.

[25]266 of 1921, and several others.

about 8⅝ *māttu*[26]; but this contradicts the express statement of the inscription of Kulōttunga's reign cited above, and it is not improbable that two different *kāśus* are meant by the two records though they stand so close to each other, and that the standard of fineness adopted in both cases was the same, in other words, that *śembon* of one of these records was of the same fineness as the *madhurāntakan māḍai*, of 9½ *māttu*. Codrington adds: "Now none of the Cōḷa coins even approach this standard, and it seems possible that this *māḍai* was a unit of account equal to a *kaḻañju* of gold of the touch mentioned, and had ceased to have any connection with the progressively debased coinage." This conclusion can hardly be accepted as correct, if it implies that the *kāśu* of proper fineness was not actually issued from the royal mints for circulation. Considering that as late as the thirty-fifth year of Rājādhirāja I[27], A.D. 1053, the standard *kāśu* was still current and that a heavier *kāśu*, equal to ¾ *kaḻañju* and 3 *mañjāḍis*, is sometimes mentioned in the records,[28] while a lighter *kāśu* of seven *mañjāḍis* was also known[29], the real explanation for the prevalence of different units of currency must be sought elsewhere. As Codrington has himself observed 'it seems probable that each province of the empire retained its local currency' and its relation to the standard currency was a matter for calculation on each separate

[26] *op. cit.* p. 86.

[27] 228 of 1923.

[28] 105 of 1925; also 571 of 1904 for a *kāśu* of slightly less value. Both of Rājarāja I.

[29] 5 of 1890.

occasion. That no coins of the high standard of fineness of the *māḍai* have reached us is perhaps due to no other reason than this, that no old coins that were at all fit for the gold-smith's brazier had any chance of survival through many centuries.

The standard *kāśu*, moreover, derived ultimately from Ceylon which had a more ancient and continuous currency tradition than the Cōḷa kingdom which came up in the ninth and tenth centuries. The *īḻak-kāśu*, Ceylon *kāśu*, which was also half-a-*kaḻañju* of the fineness of the *māḍai*[30], was current in the island as early as the seventh and eighth centuries; it is also mentioned in Cōḷa inscriptions from about 937 A.D. in the reign of Parāntaka I[31]. There was close contact between Ceylon and the Madura country for centuries before Parāntaka's conquest of Madura, and the introduction of this coin into Cōḷa currency must have been the result of Parāntaka's invasion of Madura and the island of Ceylon[32]. From the actual specimens of coins known, the Ceylon type 'with a rude human figure standing on the obverse, and seated on the reverse' and the traditional Cōḷa type with the seated tiger, fish and bow emblems, both may be seen to have existed side by side almost from the beginning, the Ceylon type being specially suited for circulation in the

[30] 25 and 156 of 1895; also 252 of 1915. The word *Īḻam* came to mean 'gold' in Tamil; and this sense is known to the Divākaram; but I have not come across any early use of the word in this sense. Can it be that the meaning was derived from the fact that the *Īḻak-kāśu* was a gold coin ?

[31] 435 of 1904.

[32] Codrington, pp. 73.

Pāṇḍyan country where it should have been long known before. However that may be, the main thing was the adoption of the Ceylon standard, and this took place apparently much earlier than the time of Rājarāja[33].

Karungāśu.

Besides the gold coins *māḍai* and *kāśu* and others of local provenance and uncertain standard, the inscriptions mention '*Karungāśu*' or '*Īḻakkarungāśu*', the black *kāśu* of Ceylon[34]. This coin is also apparently traceable to Ceylon, where the '*nīla kahāpaṇa*', a silver coin of the gadyāṇa standard in weight, is known to have been in circulation from very early times[35]. Some of the impure silver coins of the Cōḷas now known may be assigned to this series, full-weight or half, as the case may be[36]. Copper coins issued by the Cōḷas conforming more to the standard of the *gadyāṇa* than of the *kaḻañju* are figured by Elliot and other writers.

In an inscription of the thirty-third year of Parāntaka I from the Madura district[37], we are told

[33] *Contra* Codrington, p. 84. It is perhaps worth noting that the so-called Lankēśvara type of Rājarāja I (Desikachari, *South Indian Coins*, p. 183) is not a Cōḷa coin, but most probably belongs to the Ceylonese *Kahāvaṇu* series and that the legend on it is now read as 'Śrī Lanka Vibhu'. Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 54. Unfortunately, Desikachari does not give the weight of his specimen of this type. The copper '*Kōdaṇḍarāma*' coins (Desikachari, p. 66) are also clearly Pāṇḍyan, not Cōḷa.

[34] *SII.* iii, 120; 242 of 1907; 238 and 266 of 1923.

[35] Codrington, pp. 13-4.

[36] Elliot, No. 152 is full weight; so also Nos. 26 and 27 described by Hultzsch at *IA*. 1896, p. 321 which from the title Cōḷa-nārāyaṇa may now be ascribed to Rājarāja who gets the same title in one of the Mysore inscriptions. One coin at p. 317 *IA*. 1896 is half weight, 30 gr. Another, in the same place, of 51½ grains is near Elliot No. 153 which is 52·2 grains.

[37] *SII.* iii, 106. This *kāśu* is also mentioned in 435 of 1904, year 30.

that the *Īḷak-kāśu* was the equivalent of 7½ new *akkams.* What sort of a coin the *akkam* was is not easily decided. It is again mentioned in a record[38] of Āditya II, but without any relation to other units. In the days of Rājarāja, however, the *akkam* was definitely a twelfth of the *Kāśu,*[39] and therefore a twenty-fourth of the *Kaḷañju.* It is obvious that the term *akkam* is applied to coins of different value in the Madura and the Tanjore inscriptions of Parāntaka and Rājarāja; for there is much support, as we have seen, from epigraphy for holding that the *Īḷak-kāśu* of Parāntaka's time and Rājarāja's *kāśu* were of the same value and fineness[40].

[38] 275 of 1923. The *Aka* was again a fraction piece of the Ceylon *Kahāvaṇuva,* and, like the *kāśu,* may have been derived from there. Codrington, p. 58.

[39] *SII.* ii, 7.

[40] Codrington has demonstrated conclusively (pages 71-74) that the Cōḷas borrowed their standard from Ceylon where it had a long and continuous history before the Cōḷa occupation. The older view that 'its use was established in Ceylon, as a result of the Cōḷa occupation of the island' (Rapson) is therefore the exact reverse of the truth. See also Smith (*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*) *IMC.* I, pp. 327-8.

A careful study of the epigraphical evidence, however, does not seem to support Codrington's theory of the reform of the coinage by Rājarāja I, (sect. 23, p. 7) which rests so far as I am able to see on two facts: (a) the mention of *paḷangāśu* in 629 of 1916 of the 27th year of the king and (b) the weight of the lost gold coin (Elliot No. 151) with the *grantha* legend Uttama-śōḷan (pages 7 and 74). These facts are susceptible of other explanations, and the fixed relation of the Cōḷa kāśu=Īḷakkāśu=½ kaḷañju is anterior to Rājarāja's time as is seen from 25 of 1895 of the 24th year of Parāntaka I, 156 of 1895 and 241 of 1923, of the time Parāntaka II (Sundaracōḷa) and Āditya II respectively.

The nāgari legends on the Cōḷa coins seem to appear first under Rājarāja I replacing grantha legends of the earlier period, cf. the woodcut of the Uttama-Cōḷa gold coin in *CSI.* It is not possible to decide if this marks a further stage in the growth of Ceylonese influence on Cōḷa coinage, or, what is equally, if not more, probable, the result of North Indian Śaiva influences beginning to operate in the Cōḷa court. On the latter hypothesis, the nāgari script must have first been employed on the mainland, and thence spread to Ceylon.

Spread of Cōḷa currency.

With the growth of the Cōḷa empire as a result of the conquests of Rājarāja I, the currency system of the Cōḷas was extended over the whole empire, including its feudatory provinces. The new standard was adopted for instance in the Vengi country about A.D. 1000;[41] "the weight of Rājarāja's coin is found also beyond the limits of his empire, for example, in the gold pieces of the Western Cāḷukya Jagadēkamalla and of the Kadambas of Goa.[42] The *āḍavalam gadyāṇa* of the Kongāḷvas[43] in the eleventh century as opposed to *gadyāṇa* perhaps refers to the Cōḷa reformed gold coin"[44]. On the other hand, the local varieties of other areas are found intruding on occasions into the heart of the Cōḷa empire; about A.D. 1049, an eastern Cāḷukya prince presented to the temple at Tiruvaiyāṟu a sum of 300 Rājarājamāḍas equal to 337½ *kaḻañjus* by the *kuḍiñaikal*[45].

Ratio between gold and silver.

An inscription of the tenth year of Kulōttunga I from the Chingleput district gives the ratio between the standard *kāśu* and silver bullion by stating that 433 *kaḻañjus* of silver formed the equivalent of 100 *kāśus,* so that 1 *kaḻañju* of gold, probably of the standard fineness of 9½ *māttu,* was equal to 8.66 *kaḻañjus* of silver[46].

[41] *IA.* xxv, p. 321.
[42] *IMC.* I, pp. 313-4.
[43] *EC.* i, 49.
[44] Codrington, p. 8.
[45] 221 of 1894. The Cōḷa *māḍa* was just one *kaḻañju* by this *kal.* 144 of 1925.
[46] 211 of 1922.

Examples of various types of the gold *kāśu* deviating more or less from the standard have been given already. The gold content of the *kāśu* is clearly stated in several inscriptions, and it seems probable that in such statements, the standard of fineness adopted was that of the *māḍai*; this is, however, expressly mentioned only in some cases. About 1063 A.D., inscriptions from the North Arcot district seem to mention two varieties of *kāśu* containing 8·356 and 7 *mañjāḍis* respectively of standard gold[47]; a *kāśu* of a little over 6 *mañjāḍis* occurs in an inscription of 1077 from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr[48]; of 6·813 *mañjāḍis* in a record 1111 A.D. from Tiruvāḍuturai[49]; and of exactly 6½ *mañjāḍis* in 1122 at Tiruvārūr[50]. Another inscription from the Tanjore district, A.D. 1133, mentions a *kāśu* of the weight of three-fourths of a *kaḻañju*[51], a coin which seems to have still kept up the weight of the old *māḍai* of the *gadyāṇa* standard. Even so late as 1152 A.D. a *kāśu* of the gold content of a third of a *kaḻañju* is mentioned in an inscription from Ālanguḍi[51a].

Debasement.

These coins with a substantial gold content are, however, exceptional instances of the survival of old issues or very limited new issues minted from time to time; for the general history of Cōḷa currency seems to have been marked

[47] 157 of 1916; 5 of 1890.
[48] 401 of 1896.
[49] 150 of 1925.
[50] 563 of 1904.
[51] 509 of 1912; Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 85.
[51a] 521 of 1920.

by a progressive deterioration. While the 'Ceylon type' issues of Rājarāja I are usually of fairly good gold, all the available specimens of later monarchs beginning from Rājādhirāja I are of very base gold, 'or rather silver washed with gold.'[52]

The new *kāśu.*

From the time of Kulōttunga III, the term *kāśu* comes to be applied to a copper coin of rather low value and its content must have varied greatly from place to place, or, what seems equally likely, with each issue. While two to three *palangāśus* were quite enough to endow a lamp in this period[53], 1100 current *kāśus* were needed for a lamp being maintained during services in a temple, and 9000 for a perpetual lamp[54]. In another case, 200 new *kāśus* sufficed for a lamp[55]. An inscription of the twentieth year of Rājēndra III states that the *kalañju* of gold was then equal to 411 7|13 *kāśus*.[56] And a Pāṇḍya inscription of the thirteenth century from the Salem district (Āragaḷūr) states that one hundred *Śōḻiya kāśus* went to the *faṇam*[57]. Coppers of various sizes usually with the legend Rājarāja on them can still be picked up easily in the bazaars of South Indian cities, and they, no doubt, are the *kāśus* of these later Cōḷa inscriptions. Of the copper issues of the later monarchs, Codrington says[58] that they are 'of the same design as the coins of Rājarāja I, but the human

[52]Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 73.
[53]40 of 1900; 449 of 1902.
[54]264 of 1913; 63 of 1892.
[55]449 of 1902.
[56]522 of 1922.
[57]439 of 1913.
[58]*op. cit.* p. 85.

figure is more degraded and the legend roughly executed, the *Ja* sometimes being reversed. In the degradation of the type various stages are visible, and it is probable that the coins were issued by various later kings following the old model without alteration of name. The better executed and presumably older specimens with a flat blank about .76 inch in width, and a weight of some 63 grains, may be the new *kāśu* or rather its double'.

Tiramam.

The *tiramam* is occasionally found mentioned in inscriptions; it is not clear if it was a coin or only a smaller unit of reckoning. At Kāñcīpuram, in 1076 A. D., six *tiramams* went to the *kāśu*[59], while more than forty years later, the *kāśu* was the equal of seven *tiramams*[60] in the Ramnad district.

Multiplicity of weight systems,

Though the weight and fineness of the standard gold coin of the realm were fairly determinate, there still existed a large variety of systems of weighing and assaying. Without stopping to give an exhaustive account of these systems, a few examples may be given to illustrate the general conditions that prevailed. In the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājarāja, two different weight units are found used, the *āḍavallān* for weighing gold and the *dakṣiṇamēruviṭankan* for jewels. Outside Tanjore may be noticed the 'stone used for weighing Rājarājan-kāśu' at Tiruvārūr,[61] the

[59] 1 of 1893.
[60] 284 of 1923.
[61] 680 of 1919.

vaiyagattār-kal at Tirumalavāḍi[62], the viḍēl-viḍugu-kal at Tiruccenduṟai[63] and Paḷuvūr[64] and the Kempō-nāgarasu-niṟai at Taḍi-malingi[65], or simply the stone used in this village of Śrīkaṇṭha-caturvēdi-mangalam (Tiruveṟumbūr)[66]. The absolute weights of these different units are not easily determined, but they all used the same denominations of *kaḷañju* divided into 20 *mañjāḍis*, each *mañjāḍi* being the equivalent of two *kuṉṟis*. The fineness of gold is likewise expressed in different ways. The fineness of the *māḍai* and that of *śembon* (red-gold) have already been mentioned. Of these, the term 'red gold' was applied to gold purified and tested according to certain prescribed methods[67]; apparently it was the same as *tuḷai-pon* or *tuḷai-niṟai-pon*. Sometimes, the fineness is explained in terms of touch—as nine *māttu* by the *kāśu-niṟai-kal*[68]. 'Of the fineness of *paḷangāśu*' and 'of the fineness prescribed by the (royal) treasury' (*tūlaccemmai*)[69] are other expressions that are employed in the early inscriptions of the period. There was thus no uniformity either in the actual units of gold currency in circulation or in the standard of weight and fineness adopted in different areas for the regulation of local transactions. The need for

and standards of fineness of gold.

[62] 1 of 1920.
[63] 316 of 1903.
[64] 353 of 1918.
[65] 491 of 1911.
[66] 100 of 1892.
[67] *SII*. iii, p. 229 n. 5.
[68] *TAS*. iv, pp. 139-41.
[69] 50 of 1925; 356 of 1924.

'gold committees' which were set up by different village-assemblies for testing gold is thus clear.

Other measures

The same diversity of usage marks the systems of land, liquid and grain measures adopted in different areas. The *nilam* or *vēli*, called *vāṭikā* in Sanskrit in the Anbil plates, was the unit measure of land[70]. It was divided into ½, ¼, ⅛, 1|20, 1|80, and 1|320, a secondary series (the first *kīḻ*) of 1|320 of this primary series, and a tertiary $(1|320)^2$ (the second *kīḻ*) of the same[71]; even a third *kīḻ* series $(1|320)^3$ seems to be occasionally employed.[72]

How exactly the measurement of land was carried out to such minute accuracy is not known. But the system of measurement by *vēli* which was an ancient one in the Cōḷa country spread over the other parts of Southern India with the Cōḷa empire and apparently disappeared with it. Cōḷa inscriptions in the Pāṇḍya country for instance used this system, which is not found there either before or after the Cōḷas. For all the minute care bestowed in the inscriptions from Tanjore and elsewhere on the fractional sub-divisions of the *vēli*, the extent of the *vēli* seems itself to have been somewhat indeterminate. The length of the rod (*kōl*) used for measuring land differed with the locality as can be gathered from expressions like the 16-span-

[70] The Tanjore *vēli* today is 6·7 acres. Possibly the ancient unit was not different.

[71] *SII.* ii, p. 48 *nn.*

[72] *SII.* ii, p. 64, paragraph 15.

kōl[73], the *kaḍigaik-kaḷattu-kkōl*[74], *śrī-pāda-kōl*[75], the *māḷigai-kōl*[76], and so on. Not only did the extent of the *kuḷi* differ with the length of the measuring rod used, but the number of *kuḷis* that made up a *mā* or *śeru*[77], the twentieth of the *vēli*, also varied considerably. In Kīḷūr in South Arcot, the *mā* contained 256 *kuḷis* by the 16 span rod in the sixth year of Rājēndra I[78]; in the same year in the Tanjore district (Tiruvāḍuturai) one hundred *kuḷis* by the *māḷigaikōl* made up the *mā*[79]. About twelve years later, in Tiruvāmāttūr not far from Kīḷūr, 200 *kuḷis* by the 16 span rod were reckoned to the *mā*[80]. In land-measures, as in currency, therefore, the same tendency to standardisation on the part of the central government can be traced by the side of the persistence of local usage. The *māḷigai-kōl* (the rod of the palace), and the 100-kuḷi-mā as well as the spread of the vēli-unit outside the Cōḷa country proper may be taken as evidence of the attempt to impose a uniform system on the provinces. In the temple at Tiruvālangāḍu in the Tanjore district the length of the standard *kōl* (rod) is marked on the stone wall and on the *gōpuram*, to conform to the *kōl* found engraved on the wall of the Tanjore temple[81].

[73] 261 of 1902; 344 of 1912; 18 of 1922; *SII.* iii. 64. Fourteen spans in 229 of 1910, twenty in 413 of 1922; twelve in 104 of 1928.

[74] 160 and 172 of 1921.

[75] 87 of 1900.

[76] 99 of 1914; 102 of 1925.

[77] 250 of 1902.

[78] 261 of 1902.

[79] 102 of 1925.

[80] 18 of 1922.

[81] 93, 97 of 1926.

How little these efforts at standardisation succeeded is clear from the chaos of measuring standards revealed by the later Cōḷa inscriptions. At Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, in 1072 A.D., the *vēli* comprised 2000 *kuḻis* by the sixteen-span rod[82]; while in 1204 it is equated to 6⅛ *pāḍagams* in Uttaramērūr[83]. The *mā* was made up of 138 *kuḻis* in 1097 at Tirukkaḍaiyūr[84], and of 128 *kuḻis* by the standard of the *sabhā* of Tiruvāḍuturai in 1110[85], the same *sabhā* employing in the very next year another measure by which the *mā* was 100 *kuḻis*[86]. Again, in the South Arcot district, the *mā* was reckoned at 512 *kuḻis* by the fourteen span rod in 1138[87]; and the same number of *kuḻis* to the *mā* is found in a record from Muniyūr (Tanjore district) in 1220, the length of the rod, however, not being specified in this case[88]. And a *mā* of 513 *kuḻis* is found in Vaḷuvūr in the same district in the reign of Rājādhirāja II[89]. This list is by no means exhaustive; it is seldom that we have the data for converting one unit into another as is found in some records of the *sabhā* of Tiruvāḍuturai which equate 4½ *mā*-s of their measure to six *mā*-s of the survey, and six *mā*-s and a *kāṇi* to eight *mā*-s according to the general survey which took 100 *mā*-s to the *kuḻi*[90].

[82] *SII*. iii, 64.
[83] 76 of 1898.
[84] 243 of 1925.
[85] 155 of 1925. This record says that 4½ *mā*-s of this measure were equal to six *mā-s* by the general survey; is this only an approximation?
[86] 150 of 1925.
[87] 179-81 of 1918.
[88] 607 of 1902.
[89] 428 of 1912.
[90] 155 and 144 of 1925.

The same characteristic marks the liquid and grain measures used in different places, and numerous kinds of *nāḻi* and *marakkāl* find mention in the inscriptions. From the Tanjore inscriptions it becomes clear that the *Āḍavallān* equal to *Rājakēsari* was adopted as the standard in the accounts of the capital city and perhaps of the empire in the time of Rājarāja I. Possibly, the same measure is referred to as *Arumoḻidēvan* in the reigns of Rājēndra and Rājādhirāja[91], though the name *Rājakēsari* also continued in use[92]. The distinction between this standard measure Rājakēsari and another called *Vīdiviḍangan* is clearly brought out in a record of the twenty-sixth year of Rājarāja I from Tiruvāmāttūr stating that a surplus was left as a result of measuring paddy by the Vīdiviḍangan instead of by the Rājakēsari[93]. *Kōmaḷam* (Covelong) and *Kacci-ppēḍu-ninrān* were other measures used in Chingleput[94]. It would seem, however, that better success attended the effort to standardise liquid and grain measures than in other directions; at any rate, after the reign of Rājarāja I the inscriptions seem to mention fewer varieties of these measures than of land measures or gold weights.

The *āḍu*.

Another standardised unit of value was, strangely enough, the *āḍu* (lit. sheep) which was the equivalent of a sum enough to yield one measure of *ghī* per annum as interest; in the

[91] 401 of 1921; 262 of 1921.
[92] 140 of 1912.
[93] 21 of 1922.
[94] *ARE.* 1911, II, 21.

sixteenth year of Rājēndra I, 25 *kāśus* were equal to 22½ such *āḍus*[95], giving as many measures of *ghī* in the year. The fractional *āḍus* (sheep) mentioned in inscriptions[96] can be understood only if they are taken to be fractions of a monetary unit, and not of the live animal.

The year.

The year is reckoned generally at 360 days, but instances also occur where calculations are based on a year of 365 days[97]. It is well known that Hindu astronomical works like the *Sūryasiddhānta* and the *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi* mention, among others, both these reckonings and prescribe the particular purposes for which each may be used. In the Cōḷa inscriptions, however, we find both reckonings used for the same purpose, *e.g.*, for calculating the quantity of *ghī* necessary for the maintenance of lamps.

95 78 of 1895.
96 40 of 1888.
97 556 of 1904, 731 of 1909, 504 of 1918.

TABLES OF MAIN WEIGHTS AND MEASURES IN THE INSCRIPTIONS.

1. Liquid and grain measure:—

2 Śeviḍu	=	1 Piḍi
5 Śeviḍu	=	1 Āḻākku
2 Āḻākku	=	1 uḻakku
2 Uḻakku	=	1 uri
2 uri	=	1 nāḻi
8 nāḻi	=	1 kuṟuṇi
2 kuṟuṇi	=	1 Padakku
2 Padakku	=	1 Tūṇi or kāḍi[98]
3 Tūṇi	=	1 Kalam

2. Weight of gold:—

One mañjāḍi = 2 kuṉṟi = 10 *mā* = 40 *kāṇi*.

Twenty mañjāḍi = one kaḻañju (about 68 to 72 grains).

Note.—The *mā* and *kāṇi* are usually 1/20 and 1/80 when applied to a *vēli* of land. Hultzsch conjectures (*SII.* ii, p. 65 n.) very plausibly that originally the *mā* and *kāṇi* had the same fractional value even here, and were subdivisions of a unit of 2 *mañjāḍis* or a tenth of the *kaḻañju;* coins called *faṇams* were usually a tenth of the standard *kaḻañju* in weight; and the

[98] 219 of 1921 (Rājarāja I 22).

paṇa-tūkkam (paṇam-weight) has always been a tenth of the *kaḻañju*. In 273 of 1927 (Vik. 3, Śivapuram) the *mā* is really 1|20 *kāśu*.

3. Linear measure used in measuring icons:—

8 tōrai (rice-corn)	=	one viral (finger).
12 viral	=	one śāṇ (span).
2 śāṇ	=	one muḻam (cubit).




1




2




3




4




6




5




8




7

9

KEY TO THE PLATES OF COINS

PLATE I

1. AV. Wt. 67·5 grs.

Obv: standing figure. To its left crescent above four pellets and an indistinct object (lotus ?); a weapon or symbol below outstretched right arm.

Rev: seated figure. To right in *Nāgari*: Śrī
Rāja
Rāja (Elliot, 165).

2. AR. Wt. 61·7 grs.

Obv: standing figure. To its left crescent above four pellets and an indistinct object (lotus ?); weapon or symbol below outstretched right arm.

Rev: seated figure. To right in *Nāgari*: Śrī
Rāja
Rāja (cf. 1 above).

3. AR. Wt. 52 grs.

Same as (2); medium size.

4. AR. Wt. 15·8 grs.

Same as (2); small size.

5. AR. Wt. 32 grs.

Obv: seated figure. To right in *Nāgari*: Rāja
rā(ja).

Rev: in Tamil: Śēkara
śēkara

6. AE. Wt. 59·5 grs.

Obv: standing figure. Crescent etc. to its left and weapon or symbol under outstretched right arm.

Rev: seated figure. To right in *Nāgari*: Śrī
Rāja
rā(?).

7. AE. Wt. 13 grs.

Obv: rude figure of standing flute player. To left in *Nāgari*: Rā

Rev: seated figure. To right in *Nāgari*: Rāja
(Rāja).

8. AR. Wt. 41·7 grs.

Obv: bow, seated tiger and two fishes, all below a parasol with a *cāmara* on either side.

Rev: In *Nāgari*: Uttama
Cōḷaḥ
(cf. Elliot, 154).

9. AE. Wt. 73·3 grs.

Obv: bow, seated tiger and two fishes, all below a parasol with a *cāmara* on either side, (worn).

Rev: In *Nāgari*: Uttama
Cōḷaḥ
(cf. 8 above)

10. AV. Wt. 57·2 grs.

Obv: seated figure, and tiger between lamps to right.

Rev: bow, seated tiger and two fishes whole group flanked by lamps on either side and set beneath a parasol with a *cāmara* on either side. In the lower half of field, in *Nāgari*: Śrī rāja rā jēndra.

11. AV. Wt. 46·6 grs.

Obv: and Rev: bow, seated tiger and two fishes, whole group flanked by lamps on either side and set beneath a parasol with a *cāmara* on either side. In lower half of field, in *Nāgari*: Gangaikonda Cōlaḥ (See *IA.* xxi, p. 323).

12. AE. Wt. 48 grs.

Obv: rude standing figure.

Rev: standing bull to right with *Nāgari Vā* in front; sun and moon. (Elliot, 167).

13. AE. Wt. 36 grs.

Obv: rude standing figure.

Rev: standing bull to right: in front of it, moon above and *Kanarese Vi* below. (worn).

14. AE. Wt. 48 grs.

Obv: standing figure (part) and pellets.

Rev: elephant to left, *śankha* in front, *Tamil mā* and pellets above. (Elliot, 171)

15. AE. Wt. 51 grs.

Obv: standing figure; some indistinct object to its right (worn).

Rev: indistinct symbol—perhaps a Vaiṣṇava mark on a pedestal.

16. AE. Wt. 43 grs.

Obv: enthroned deity within circle of pellets.

Rev: seated figure; and indistinct object to left; circle of pellets visible in part.

17. AE. Wt. 20 grs.

Obv: seated figure with lozenge of pellets to left.

Rev: standing figure with a lozenge to right and battle axe to left.

18. AE. Wt. 7 grs.

Obv: standing figure }
Rev: seated figure } both only visible in part.

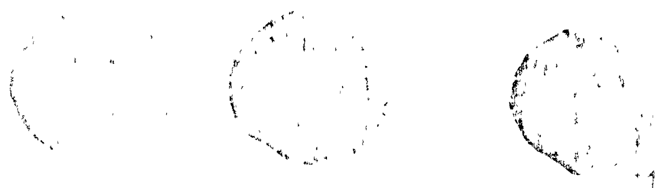
19. AE. Wt. 49 grs.

Obv: standing figure within a circle.

Rev: seated figure. To right, in *Grantha* śrī kula.

Nos. 12 to 18, though not demonstrably Cōla coins, have been included as examples of possibly contemporary local issues. No. 19 may be a Pāṇḍya coin.

Nos. 1, 5, 6, 7 and 13 were kindly lent to me by Sir T. Desikachari, and the rest by Mr. S. T. Srinivasagopalachari from their respective cabinets.

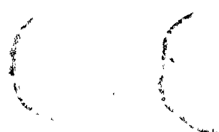


11





12



13

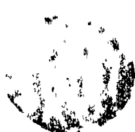






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CHAPTER XXIV

EDUCATION AND LEARNING

The old ideal.

Universal education is a modern ideal. Modern India does not appear yet to have quite accepted it. The ancient ideal of education in India was 'to each according to his capacity', capacity being measured by the teacher in accordance not only with the pupil's individual aptitudes but his birth and station in life. What is now known as industrial or technical education was largely carried on in the homes of the artisans under conditions governed by caste rules and custom.

Literacy.

Little evidence of a direct character is available on the spread of literacy or the extent to which it was generally valued. But one may hazard the conjecture that the percentage of literacy in the population was not lower, it was probably higher,[1] than the extremely low level revealed by recent censuses. The village school assembling under the shade of a tree or in the verandahs of temples and *maṭhas* was a common institution, and its teacher (*vātti*)[2] was among the staff of employees remunerated from the common land held by the village. The free school at Panaiyavaraṁ[3], South Arcot, mentioned in an undated record, belonged, most probably, to the same type. Stone

[1] Cf. Elphinstone—*History of India*[5], p. 205.
[2] 17 of 1920.
[3] 323 of 1917.

masons and copper smiths were to be found everywhere to engrave inscriptions on stone and copper, a work which was sometimes done with remarkable accuracy and art. The corrupt and colloquial forms of words and phrases in several of the inscriptions show that the work was generally entrusted to workmen who were just literate, but were no scholars. The maintenance of the complex records of the government, local and central, and the employment for this purpose of a considerable staff of officers and clerks may have stimulated then as now the resort to scholastic education as an avenue to public employment. There can be no doubt that the elaborate bureaucracy set up by the growing Cōḷa empire perceptibly increased the demand for the services of such men.

Popular education.

Popular education in a wide sense was amply provided for by the recitation and exposition in temples and other public places of the national epics like the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas. Sometimes the elements of philosophy from the standpoint of particular sects were also similarly expounded, for instance the Śivadharma[4], Sōmasiddhānta, and Rāmānujabhāṣya.

Higher education.

Higher education was generally denominational in character and pursued in schools and colleges attached to *maṭhas* and temples. The *maṭha*, the *paḷḷi* and the *vihāra* were centres of learning which often owned large libraries and transmitted by successive

[4]321 of 1917; 403 of 1896; 493 of 1919.

copyings a vast mass of manuscript literature on a variety of topics which increased in volume and diversity from generation to generation. Besides numberless little endowments for the pursuit of particular branches of study, like the *Mīmāmsā* of Prabhākara[5], and grammar (Vyākaraṇa)[6], under the guidance of individual teachers, there were in existence colleges for general higher education, which provided instruction in various branches of study and comprised a large number of teachers and pupils commanding all the facilities for intellectual intercourse provided by a common life in the same place, if not also under the same roof. Even these large institutions were fully endowed and all the places in these colleges were free places filled by the most deserving pupils chosen from a group of competitors for admission to each course of study. These mediaeval South Indian colleges have not had the advantage of a full description from the pen of a curious and observant foreigner like I-tsing, or of having been buried underground for centuries and then suddenly revealed by the spade of the excavator. But contemporary inscriptions bear eloquent testimony to the great work done in their day by some of these Hindu centres of higher learning and the extent to which they enlisted the sympathy and appreciation of a thoughtful and generous public. In the reign of

Eṇṇāyiram.

Rājēndra I, the *sabhā* of Rājarāja-caturvēdimangalam (Eṇṇāyiram), in South Arcot, resolved in the presence of an officer

[5] 233 of 1911; 333 of 1923.
[6] 18 of 1898; 202 of 1912.

of the king's government, to arrange for the feeding of the pupils and the remuneration of the teachers of a college in accordance with the terms of an order made by the king himself[7]. From the words of the inscription it is not easy to say whether the college was founded on this occasion, or had been in existence for some time before Rājēndra came forward to give it such splendid support. However that may be, the details recorded in the inscription give an accurate idea of the strength of the college, the popularity of the different courses, the relative esteem in which teachers of different subjects were held in so far as this may be judged from their respective salaries, and the average cost of maintaining pupils of different grades. The provision in this record contemplates 270 junior students and 70 senior students and a teaching staff of 14 persons. Among the junior students, Brahmacāris, forty studied the elements of grammar according to the *Rūpāvatāra,* and the rest were learning the Vedas by rote—75 devoting themselves to the Ṛg- and 75 to the Yajur-veda, twenty to each of the Vājasanēya, and the Chandōgā and Talavakāra sāmas, ten to the Atharva-vēda and the remaining ten to the Baudhāyana-gṛhya, kalpa, and gaṇa. Each of these junior pupils was allowed six *nāḻis* of paddy per diem. The seventy senior pupils (*chātras*) had an allowance of ten *nāḻis* each, and were studying three advanced subjects—Vyākaraṇa 25, Prābhākara Mīmāmsā 35 and the Vēdānta 10. It will be noticed that, in the courses of study, while all the

[7] 333 of 1917, *ARE.* 1918.

four vedas are represented, there is only one sūtra of the Ṛgveda. The use of the *Rūpāvatāra* as an introduction to the elements of Sanskrit grammar in Rājēndra's reign[8], the popularity of the Mīmāmsā of Prabhākara almost to the exclusion of the Bhāṭṭa school[8a], and, if the whole college was a Vaiṣṇava institution, as most probably it was, the mention of Vēdānta of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school as a subject of study long before the great Bhāṣya of Rāmānuja came into existence, should also be noted as of particular significance to the history of Sanskrit learning in South India. Among teachers, the largest daily allowance in grain of one *kalam* and a third went to the professor of Vēdānta; the *nambis* who taught the Mīmāmsā and Vyākaraṇa came next, getting one *kalam* each. All the others were on the same level receiving only three *kuṟuṇis* or a fourth of a *kalam* per diem. Besides these daily allowances of grain, all the teachers and *chātras* (senior pupils) except the professor of Vēdānta got other allowances in gold—at the rate of one *kaḻañju* per *adhyāya* taught in the case of Vyākaraṇa and Mīmāmsā teachers, entitling them to 8 *kaḻañjus* and 12 *kaḻañjus* respectively for a whole course, and a half *kaḻañju* per head per annum for all the rest. To make money by teaching Vēdānta was prohibited by law and custom, and this, apparently, was the reason why no payment in gold

[8] Dharmakīrti, the author of the *Rūpāvatāra*, must have lived much earlier than the 12th century, the date assigned to him by M. Rangacharya in his edition of the *Rūpāvatāra*, p. xv.

[8a] This may have been due to the common epistemological standpoint of the Vaiṣṇava Viśiṣṭādvaita and Prābhākara mīmāmsā in holding that all knowledge is valid.

was offered to the teacher of Vēdānta. Another college, quite similar to that at Eṇṇāyiram, was maintained at Tribhuvani, near Pondicherry[9]. There were in it 260 students and 12 teachers. The subjects of study were generally those prescribed at Eṇṇāyiram; the Prābhākaram is not mentioned, but other new subjects come in, like the Satyāṣāḍha sūtras, besides Bhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Manu śāstra and Vaikhānasa śāstra, these last being expounded to popular audiences rather than taught as school subjects. The daily allowances to students and teachers were all in grain; the junior students were allowed six measures each and the senior eight; among teachers, the professor of Vēdānta got a *kalam* and a sixth, while the others received varying allowances ranging from one *kalam* to a fourth of it. The inscription of the thirtieth year of Rājādhirāja, A.D. 1048 which records these facts, also exempts the teachers and students of the college from active service on the committees of the village-assembly in accordance with a resolution of the *sabhā*.

Tribhuvani.

Next we have the celebrated Tirumukkūḍal inscription of Vīrarājēndra, A. D. 1067[10], certainly among the longest inscriptions of the world. This inscription contains a very detailed account of the entire budget of receipts and expenses in the local temple of Mahāviṣṇu, and the schedule of expenses included provision for a college and a hospital. The college

Tirumukkūḍal.

[9] 176 of 1919.
[10] 182 of 1915, *EI.* xxi. pp. 220 ff.

was a comparatively small institution and only two Vedas (Ṛg and Yajus) and Vyākaraṇa with *Rūpāvatāra* were taught in it. Provision was made for one teacher and ten pupils for the studying of each of the two chief Vedas, and for one teacher and twenty pupils in the Vyākaraṇa school. The Veda teachers were remunerated at the rate of one *padakku* of paddy per day and four gold *kāśus* per annum, while the teacher of Vyākaraṇa was paid a *tūṇi*—twice a *padakku*—per diem and ten *kāśus* per annum. It is clear that the Veda school was only what is now called an *adhyayana-pāṭha-śālā,* a school where puplis are trained to repeat the text by rote. The pupils were provided not only with food on the basis 1½ *nāḻis* of rice per diem and suitable side dishes, but with mats for sleeping on, oil for their heads on Saturdays (fifty-one Saturdays being counted to the year), and a night light. There were also two women servants who looked after the menial service required by the schools and their pupils.

Medical School at Tiruvāḍuturai.

An inscription of the third year of Vikrama Cōḷa, A. D. 1121[11], from Tiruvāḍuturai, mentions that among persons who were to be fed in a *maṭha* in that place were students of medicine and grammar, learners of Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya,* of the *Carakasamhitā* and of the *Rūpāvatāra.* Another inscription of A.D. 1213 from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr recapitulates the

[11]159 of 1925.

legend of Śiva expounding the fourteen Vyākaraṇa sūtras to Pāṇini, localises the legend in the Vyākaraṇa-dāna-maṇḍapa in the temple of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, and records an endowment of sixty-five *vēlis* of land towards the maintenance of a school of Vyākaraṇa in the maṇḍapa and of the maṇḍapa itself in proper repair[11a]. From Tiruviḍaikkaḻi in the Tanjore district, we have yet another inscription, dated A. D. 1229, which provides for the free feeding in the local maṭha of Brahmin students of the Vēdānta from the Malabar country[12]. There were, besides, several endowments for rewarding merit and distinction attained in these scholastic pursuits, like the one at Kāmarasavalli, dated A.D. 998, to those who recited portions of the Talavakāra-sāma[13]. There were also other organisations of a learned character like the Ghaṭikā of Vembaṟṟūr[14] of which only the names have come down to us.

Vyākaraṇa School, Tiruvoṟṟiyūr.

While we thus find much evidence on the nature and organisation of higher studies in Sanskrit, it is somewhat disappointing that we are left with practically no tangible evidence on the state of Tamil learning; yet there can be no doubt that the numerous *maṭhas*, the names of which are recorded in inscriptions all over the country, did serve as more or less important centres

Tamil Studies.

[11a] 202 of 1912.

[12] 276 of 1925.

[13] 76 of 1914. 343 of 1917 from Eṇṇāyiram provides for presents to reciters of all the Vēdas.

[14] 293 of 1908.

for the promotion of learning, religious and secular, in the Tamil language. We may be certain that then, as now, it was one of the principal tasks of the *maṭhas* to train the bands of choristers who sang the *Tiruppadiyam* in the temples.

CHAPTER XXV

RELIGION

Temple and *matha.*

The temple and the *matha* were the two great gifts of mediaeval Hinduism to Southern India. It was under the Cōḷas that these institutions entered on a process of gradual expansion and adaptation, which attracted the imagination of the populace and the benefactions of the rich; they thus reached a secure position of ascendancy over the Buddhist *vihāra* and Jain *paḷḷi*, and this position they retained almost unimpaired till our own time. In the stress of the conflict with heretical rivals who denied the sanctity of the Veda and questioned the existence of the Deity, there arose within Hinduism a tendency to close up its ranks, and foster a religious syncretism which found room within the fold of its orthodoxy for all forms of theistic belief. This syncretism was based on the conception of Trimūrti, the threefold manifestation of the same godhead.

The background.

In the eighth and ninth centuries, Southern India produced the two great Hindu champions Kumārila and Śankara who fought the battle of ancient Brahmanism against heresy, though there was 'little persecution in our sense of the word'[1]. The stories of persecution are late popular legends that were put into melodious verse by the pious credulity of the author of the *Periya Purāṇam.* Under the leadership of Śankara,

[1] *Hinduism and Buddhism,* p. xl.

Hinduism absorbed many of the distinctive features of the speçulative system and the practical organisation of latter day Buddhism. This is the chief reason why, on the one hand, Buddhism was so completely banished from Southern India in later times, and on the other, the opponents of Śankara's system found it easy to stigmatise him as a Buddhist in disguise.

The battle against heresy had been joined, however, long before Śankara's day by the great Śaiva Nāyanārs and the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvārs. The 'emotional theism' of these masters of popular song, 'running in the parallel channels of Viṣṇuism and Śaivism' is in many ways the most characteristic product of Tamil religious experience. The great work done by these holy men who traversed the whole of the Tamil land several times over, singing, preaching and organising, has ever since been treasured by a grateful posterity in beautiful legends which are significant even in their anachronisms. One such tale is that of a friendly meeting between Ñānasambandar and Tirumangai Āḻvār. The earliest narrative of this incident accessible to us is that of the *Divyasūricarita*[2]. Sambandar, the opponent of Jainism, is said to have gone forth from Shiyali in his eagerness to meet the great Vaiṣṇava antagonist of Buddhism and to invite him to Shiyali. Tirumangai would not set foot in a city which had no temple of Viṣṇu, and Sambandar overcame the objection by disclosing the existence of an ancient image of Viṣṇu that

A beautiful legend.

[2]Canto xiv, 89-99.

had once stood in a temple, since ruined, and was being regularly worshipped at the time by an *arcaka* in his private dwelling. Sambandar and Tirumangai then entered Shiyali together; there Tirumangai composed some hymns which Sambandar admired greatly, and before leaving for his own city of Ālinagar, he induced some rich persons engaged in embellishing the Śiva temple to undertake the renovation of that of Viṣṇu as well and to shed their hostility to the sister creed. Impossible as history[3], this beautiful legend enshrines the belief in the common mission of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, entertained by the Tamil Vaiṣṇavas of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In stemming the strong current of anti-Vedic heresy, the *āḻvārs* and the *nāyanārs* had laboured together in the past, and what was more natural for their successors than to bring together the great Śaiva antagonist of Jainism and the equally great Vaiṣṇava opponent of Buddhism? Let it also be noted that the currency of such a story in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries implies that Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism had not yet developed the relentless sectarian hostility that usually characterised their relations in later times. The story of the Cōḷa persecution of Rāmānuja, however, may be said to

[3]For an unconvincing attempt to treat this as history, see S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 413-4. M. Raghava Aiyangar, on the other hand, suggests that the story is the result of a confusion between Āḷuḍaiya Nambi, i.e., Sundaramūrti, the real contemporary of Tirumangai, and Āḷudaiya Piḷḷai (Sambandar). *Āḻvārgaḷ Kālanilai*, p. 137—a shrewd guess, but not more. More recently the same scholar has restated some of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's arguments and sought to establish the contemporaneity of the two hymnists; but his new argument rests on the unproven and improbable assumption that Nandivarman Pallavamalla had the title Vairamēgha. *Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, p. 210.

mark the beginning of sectarian intolerance within the fold of Hinduism; and the legend of the meeting of Sambandar and Tirumangai was, perhaps, but the expression of the wistful memory of happier times.

Under the Cōḷas of the line of Vijayālaya may be said to commence the Silver Age of South Indian Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. Difficult as it is to propose precise dates in the present state of the evidence, we may still be certain that the sacred hymns of the *nāyanārs* and the *āḻvārs* were arranged in canonical form some time in the eleventh century.

The Śaiva Canon.

Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi, the author who arranged the Śaiva Canon substantially in the form in which we now find it, was most probably a contemporary of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I. The account of his life and work given in a short Purāṇa by Umāpati Śiva Ācārya in the early fourteenth century seems to conserve, in the midst of much legendary matter, a fairly correct account of the growth of the canon in the hands of Nambi himself and his successors. A proper regard for this fact must set at rest the argument adduced by some writers that the inclusion, in the canon, of Nambi's own poems and those of other writers like Karuvūr Dēvar, manifestly later than Rājarāja's reign, and the titles Abhaya and Kulaśēkhara given by Umāpati to the Cōḷa king who was Nambi's contemporary, imply a later date for the redaction of the canon[4]. Even in Nambi's

[4]See K. S. Srinivasa Pillai—*Tamiḻ Varalāru*, Part II, pp. 179 ff. *Contra A.R.E.* 1918 II 34 which, strangely enough, makes Śēkkiḻār the author of Purāṇam on the Discovery of the Tirumuṛai.

time, difficulty was experienced in making the collection of hymns complete—as may be seen from the hymn on Tiruviḍaivāyil by Ñānasambandar, unknown to the canon, and preserved in an inscription[5], and from the legend of the destruction by white ants of the bulk of the palm leaves containing the hymns.

Tiruppadiyam.

The practice of reciting these hymns in temples had come into vogue long before the time of Rājarāja. At Lālguḍi and Āttūr in the Trichinopoly district are found inscriptions of the reign of Parāntaka I, providing for Brahmins singing the Tiruppadiyam during the daily service in the temples[6]. Earlier than Parāntaka's reign, in the reign of the Pallava Vijaya-Nandi-Vikrama Varman, reciters of the Tiruppadiyam are enumerated in a list of persons employed in the service of a temple at Tiruvallam[7]. The inference is clear that the hymns had attained the status of divine literature long before Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi collected and edited them in the standard form in which they have reached us. From the reign of Parāntaka I there is a regular series of endowments[8] recorded in epigraphs of the Cōḷa and Toṇḍai countries for the recitation of these hymns in temples, to the accompaniment of musical instruments. The mention of a *Dēvāranāyakam*, Superintendent of Dēvāram,

[5] 8 of 1918.

[6] 373 of 1903 and 99 of 1929.

[7] *SII.* iii, p. 93, ll. 32-3.

[8] 129 of 1914; 349 of 1918. 358 of 1903; 199 of 1915 etc. The mention of *Tiruvembāvai* in 12 of 1905, of *Tiruccāḷal* in 165 of 1906, and of *Tiruvembāvai* and *Tiruvādavūrāḷi-nāyanār* in 421 of 1912 is noteworthy.

in the reign of Rājēndra I, implies that there was a regular state department controlling this work and securing its proper performance; it is not clear if the sphere of its activity was limited to Tanjore or extended to other places[8a].

Vaiṣṇava canon.

The history of Vaiṣṇava hymnology in the period was quite similar. Tradition confers upon Nāthamuni the honour of having done for Vaiṣṇava lyrics what Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi achieved for the Śaiva ones. If Śrīnātha who seems to be mentioned in the Anbil plates[9] may be taken to be the same as the Vaiṣṇava Saint Nāthamuni, his age would be the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries A.D., and this accords well with the other testimony we have, meagre as it is, on the subject. However that may be, the contents of the Anbil plates, the strong Vaiṣṇavism of the family of Aniruddha, the minister of Parāntaka II, the life of his father whose glory was his learning and the number of his disciples, the attachment of his mother and grandfather to God Ranganātha, the liberal support extended by his great grand-father Ananta to the poor and the indigent,—these furnish a clear idea of the part played by Vaiṣṇavism in the social and religious life of the time. And the age of Nāthamuni's ministry cannot lie far from it, as he was the first of the great succession of Ācāryas who carried forward and completed the work started by the Āḻvārs of an earlier time[10]. The story is that Nāthamuni once heard some

[8a] 97 of 1932. See, however, *Tamil Lexicon*, s. v. Dēvāram.

[9] v. 46; also *EI*. xv, p. 54.

[10] Nāthamuni's birth place is called Vīranārāyaṇapuram; this recalls a surname of Parāntaka I.

visitors to his place from Kurugūr recite a hymn of ten verses from the *Tiruvāymoḻi*, the 1000 hymns composed by Śaṭhakōpa, also called Nammāḻvār. Captivated by the melody of the hymn and noticing from its last verse that it comprised only ten out of a thousand verses composed by Nammāḻvār, Nāthamuni undertook a journey to Kurugūr, the birth-place of Nammāḻvār, in the hope of discovering the whole collection there. At Kurugūr, after worshipping Viṣṇu, Nāthamuni resorted to the foot of the sacred tamarind tree in his desire to meet the Āḻvār; great was his grief and disappointment when he found his yogic powers unequal to the task of invoking a a vision of Śaṭhakōpa. He then adopted the plan of reciting 12,000 times the hymn of Madhurakavi on Śaṭhakōpa, his guru; pleased by this, both Śaṭhakōpa and Madhurakavi appeared before Nāthamuni and imparted to him the knowledge of the four Prabandhas[11] with their full import. Thereafter Nāthamuni stayed in Kurugūr meditating upon the Prabandhas until he was summoned by Vīranārāyaṇa Kṛṣṇa, the god of his native place, to go back to Vīranārāyaṇapuram, where he collected a band of disciples round himself and made them sing these hymns to divine tunes[12]. It were cruel and futile to

[11] i.e., the works of Śaṭhakōpa.

[12] *Divyasūricaritra*, xvi, 13-21. The same story is repeated with some natural embellishments, in the Guruparamparas. The main differences introduced by the later account are: (a) the visitors to Vīranārāyaṇapuram, from whose recitation of a hymn Nāthamuni learned of the existence of the hymns, are stated to have come from the Western country, and not Kurugūr. (b) At Kurugūr, Nāthamuni is told definitely by Parānkuśadāsa, a pupil of Madhurakavi, that the *Tiruvāymoḻi* and other sacred literature had been lost for a long time. (c) All the 4,000 hymns, not only the one thousand and odd of Śaṭhakopa, are revealed to Nāthamuni.

dissect such fanciful tales with the weapons of historical criticism. In its integrity, this story is typical of the Indian way of keeping fresh the memory of great men and their deeds. It justifies the inference that the Vaiṣṇava canon was arranged and its musical modes settled by the first great Ācārya of the second great division in the history of Vaiṣṇavism in South India, the one that falls between the age of the hymns and that of the great commentators that followed long after Rāmānuja.[13] The mention of Tiruvāymoḻidēvar in an inscription at Ukkal in Rājarāja's reign, and of the recitation of Tiruppadiyam in Viṣṇu temples is enough to show the parallelism in practice between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in this respect. Two inscriptions of the reign of Rājēndra I from Uttaramērūr provide for the distribution of the food offered to the deity among Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas reciting *Tiruppadiyam* during worship,[14] and create an endowment of land for the maintenance of three persons who were to recite *Tiruvāymōḻi* regularly in the temple[15]. The recitation of *Tiruvāymoḻi* during *tiruppaḷḷi-yeḻucci* in the Śrīrangam temple is provided for in a record of A.D. 1085[16]. The fact that the hymn of Kulaśēkhara-āḻvār beginning *tēṭṭarundiṟal* was recited before the deity during three nights in the course of a festival in

[13] Bhandarkar's date, twelfth century A.D., for Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār (*Vaiṣṇavism* etc., pp. 49-50) is clearly wrong. A hymn of Kulaśēkhara is specifically mentioned by its first words *Tēṭṭarundiṟal*—in an inscription of the year A.D. 1088. (*SII.* iii, p. 148).

[14] 181 of 1923.

[15] 176 of 1923.

[16] 61 of 1892.

Śrīrangam is mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1088[17]. The recitation of *Tiruvāymoḷi* during the festivals in the months of Aṟpiśi (October-November) and Vaigāśi (May-June) at Tirukkōyilūr is provided for in an inscription of the eighth year of Rājādhirāja II, A. D. 1171[18]. A choir of fifty-eight Brahmins reciting *Tirumoḷi* in Kāñcī is mentioned in A. D. 1242[19]. An inscription from Tirukkōyilūr, of uncertain date, records an endowment for the recitation of *Tiruneḍunḍānḍagam* in the local Viṣṇu temple[20]. Lastly, an inscription perhaps of Kulōttunga III, mentions the creation at Kāñcīpuram of a *bhāṣya-vṛtti* for the Rāmānuja-bhāṣya being regularly expounded by a competent person[21]. And these instances are by no means exhaustive.

One curious instance of a contemporary composition of a *tiruppadiyam* beginning *Kōlanār-kuḷal* in praise of Viṣṇu at Tirumālpuram is recorded in an inscription of A. D. 995[22]; such imitations of the canonical hymns seem however to have been quite rare, and unlike the later Śaiva compositions, have found no place in canonical literature.

Recital of Veda

It may be noted that the recitation in the temples of the sacred hymns in Tamil emphasises the rank assigned to them by the side of the Sanskritic Vedas, both by

[17] 62 of 1892.
[18] 343 of 1921.
[19] 557 of 1919.
[20] 126 of 1900, a record of Śōḷa-Kēraḷadēva.
[21] 493 of 1919.
[22] 333 of 1906.

the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas. That the Vedas were chanted day by day in the temples at the time of worship by Brahmins specially appointed for the purpose becomes clear not only from the practice obtaining even now in the larger temples, but from a number of contemporary inscriptions of the Cōḷa period[23]. Of such records one or two may be noted as being of special interest. In the fourteenth year of a Rājakēsari[24], an endowment was created in Paṇḍāravāḍai for awarding a prize once a year in a recitation contest to be held on the night of the Ārdrā festival, the competitors being required to recite a prescribed portion of the Jaiminīya Sāma Veda. On the occasion of festivals, more men were employed to recite Vedas before the deity than on ordinary days, and such occasional services were also often endowed[25]. Other instances of recitations, more popular in character and intended for the instruction and edification of devotees are mentioned in the inscriptions; such are the Śrī-purāṇa of Āḷudaiyanambi and the Śivadharma[26], and the Sōma-siddhānta. The nature of these works is by no means clear at present, though the last appears, from a reference to

and other works.

[23]103 of 1926; 52 of 1928.

[24]266 of 1923.

[25]*SII.* ii, 25 seems to me to record one such endowment. The phrase employed is *tirup-paṟai-aṟaiyavum*; Hultzsch has taken this to mean: "to beat the sacred drum." The fact that the act had to be performed by *apūrvis* of the *ghaṭikā* (See *SII.* iii, p. 233 n. 2) suggests the need for a better interpretation; *paṟai* means also 'word' and '*aṟai*', 'speak' or 'recite'. I think it is the recitation of the Vedas, the Sacred Word, that is in question here.

[26]403 of 1896, 214 of 1911 and 321 of 1917.

it in the *Prabōdhacandrōdaya,* to have propounded the doctrine of the Kāpālika school of Śaivism[27].

Temples.

Besides the collection and conservation of sacred literature, the new life in religion manifested itself in the erection of stone temples, great and small, in all the holy places hallowed by association with the lives of the *āḻvārs* and *nāyanārs* of the earlier age. As a religious institution, the South Indian Temple reaches back to a remote antiquity, and the existence of numerous temples (*kōṭṭams*) of Brahminical, Buddhist and Jain deities is fully attested by the Śangam literature. The early temples were structures of brick and mortar, or, under the Pallavas, carved out of solid blocks of granite, rock-cut 'cave temples'[28]. The art of erecting structural temples of stone was not unknown, and the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram and the shore temple at Mahābalipuram show the rapid advance in architectural achievement in the two centuries after Mahēndravarman, the *Vicitra-citta* who marvelled at his own feat in having brought into existence a temple without metal, timber or brick[29]. That stone temples were, however, still rare in the Cōḷa country in the ninth and tenth centuries, and that the kings of the Vijayālaya line led the way in multiplying their number all over the country is fully borne out by contemporary inscriptions. The Anbil plates state

[27] *ARE.* 1912, II, 29. See also Tucci's citations in *JPASB.* xxvi (1930), pp. 130–2.

[28] The Ānaimalai (Madura) 'Cave Temple' to Narasimha is one of the few early Pāṇḍya temples known. *EI.* viii, pp. 317 ff.

[29] *EI.* xvii, p. 14.

that the chief glory of the rule of Āditya I was that he covered the banks of the Kāvēri, along its whole course from the mountain to the sea, with a number of lofty and impregnable temples built of stone and dedicated to Śiva. The inscriptions of the reign of Parāntaka I show that Āditya's work was continued by his successor who is reputed to have covered with gold the roof of the Cidambaram temple. Besides the kings, some of their relatives and officials stand out prominent among the leaders in this widespread movement. Tirukkaṟṟaḷi-piccan (Piccan of the sacred stone temple) of whom there is still a sculpture in Tiruvāḍuturai[30] was one of them and he was in the service of Parāntaka I. Even the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invader, Kṛṣṇa III, erected several temples in the land newly conquered by him, one of them being the Kālapriya at Kāvēripākkam[31]. Śembiyan-mahādēvi, the queen of Gaṇḍarāditya and mother of Uttama Cōḷa, was widowed early in life and lived on for many years thereafter. Hers was a life of religious devotion, and possibly the crime by which her son cleared his way to the throne added poignancy to her piety. In any case, she used all her great influence and resources throughout her son's reign and far into that of his successor Rājarāja I for the construction and the very liberal endowment of an unusually large number of temples[32]. The village Śembiyan-mahādēvi was altogether her foundation and the stone temple dedicated to Candramauḷīśvara at Tiruvakkarai in South

[30] 132 of 1925.
[31] *EI.* iv, p. 281, and 382 of 1905.
[32] *ARE.* 1926, II, 22.

Arcot, built about A. D. 1001, was among the latest foundations of her life. Either as renovating old structures or founding new ones, or, more rarely, as commemorative monuments of a sepulchral character, the construction of stone temples continued throughout the Cōḷa period and, in fact, has gone on till our own times. The most conspicuous monuments of the early eleventh century, and in some ways the finest of all South Indian temples, were those of Tanjore and of Gangai-Koṇḍa-śōḷapuram.

State of Śaivism.

The Tanjore inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja furnish an unusually full view of the state of Śaivism at the time. The hagiology that, more than a century later, found its classic poet in Śēkkiḻār, was already quite popular; and some of it found representation in the iconography of the time, though with some differences in detail from the later version[33]. And South Indian Śaivism appears to have had a live contact with Śaivism in the rest of India, as may be seen from Rājēndra I providing for the annual supply of a large quantity of grain as *ācāryabhōga* to Uḍaiyār Śarva Śiva Paṇḍita, who was performing the worship in the Tanjore temple and his pupils, and their pupils, whether they lived in the Āryadēśa, Madhyadēśa or Gauḍadēśa[34]. Inscriptions of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III give evidence of the existence of this connection between Northern India and the South in late Cōḷa times as well. A certain Ōmkāradēva

[33] *SII*. ii, Introduction, pp. 39-40.
[34] *SII*. ii, 20. See Gopinatha Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, ii, Intr.

Irāvaḷar, gave some money in 1214 as provision for *tiruppavitram* to the deity at Tiruppāśur (Chingleput district); the donor is described as a disciple of Jñānaśiva Irāvaḷar of the *Santāna* of Lakṣādhyāya Irāvaḷar of the Kollā-maṭha at Vārāṇasi (Benares)[35]. Another Irāvaḷan of the Bhikṣāmaṭha of Vārāṇasi is mentioned in an inscription at Pāṇḍanallūr (Tanjore district) dated three years later.[36] A tradition is preserved in some stray verses quoted by Anantaśambhu (in his gloss on the *Siddhāntasārāvaḷi* of Trilōcanaśiva),[37] that Rājēndra I imported Śaivas from the banks of the Ganges and established them in various places in the Cōḷa country; this tradition also points to the same fact that there was a live contact between Śaiva institutions in the different parts of India.

Toleration; the rule.

Speaking generally, the religious temper of the period, particularly in the first half of it, was by no means narrow or sectarian. Not only did the kings as a rule tolerate religions and sects other than their own, but they often patronised all persuasions in equal measure. A progressive king like Rājarāja even made it a point to give clear expression to his general attitude to religion by including in the decorative motifs of the Great Śiva Temple of Tanjore themes from Vaiṣṇavism and even Buddhism. His sister Kundavai built three temples, one to Viṣṇu, another to

[35] 111 of 1930.
[36] 72 of 1931.
[37] *JOR.* vii, p. 200.

Śiva and a third to Jina, all in the same place, Rājarājapuram, now called Dādāpuram, and her gifts to all these shrines are found recorded in the same inscription[38]. The list of jewels includes several *nāmams,* the Vaiṣṇava caste-mark, made of gold. There were several temples which contained shrines both of Śiva and of Viṣṇu side by side, the most conspicuous instance being that of Cidambaram. The relative position of the icons of Naṭarāja and Gōvindarāja in this temple is brought out with great precision in the verse in the *Tirukkōvaiyār* which depicts Viṣṇu as lying in front of Naṭarāja, absorbed in the contemplation of the foot lifted in his dance and supplicating him for a view of the other foot as well[39]. In the precincts of the temple of Candramauḷīśvara, at Tiruvakkarai, which was rebuilt of stone by Śembiyanmahādēvi, was a shrine of Varadarāja-perumāḷ, originally built of bricks by Kōccōḷa and reconstructed in stone in the short reign of Adhirājēndra[40]. If this is a reference to Śenganān, the legendary Cōḷa king whom Tirumangai calls by that name[41], nothing can be more significant than this epigraphical reference to his construction of a Viṣṇu temple by the side of Tirumangai celebrating him for the foundation of seventy beautiful palaces to the eight-armed Īśa. Hinduism was still an attitude to life as a whole, which

[38] 8 of 1919. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil has stated that the *nāmam* is not seen earlier than fifteenth century. (*Archeologie du sud de l' Inde.*, ii, p. 62). This inscription gives clear evidence of its use at least four centuries earlier.

[39] Verse 86.

[40] 205 of 1904.

[41] *Periya-tiru-moḷi,* VI, 6, 4.

had not lost itself in an arid desert of sectarian rivalries.

Some exceptions.

It should hardly cause any surprise that there were occasions in which intolerance of a rival sect got the upper hand. For even when the various creeds lived in mutual good-will and enjoyed equal patronage from the princes and nobles of the land, each sect lived its own separate and exclusive life, and nothing in the history of Indian society is more remarkable than its fatal capacity to combine intellectual tolerance with social exclusiveness. But social exclusiveness is bound, sometime or other, to produce its natural result of indifference to the welfare of other groups than one's own, and when doctrinal differences become acute, this indifference very soon develops into active hostility. The leading instance of religious intolerance in the period of Cōḷa rule is that of the persecution of Rāmānuja and his followers by a Cōḷa monarch whose identity is not altogether free from doubt. We have seen reason to believe that this persecution led to a popular revolt in which Adhirājēndra, the last ruler in the male line descending from Vijayālaya, lost his life. If this is a correct view of the course of events, two inferences may be drawn. First, that far from being part of a definite policy of the Cōḷa monarchy to root out Vaiṣṇavism, the persecution of Rāmānuja was only the freak of an individual ruler. Secondly, that the general atmosphere was so unfavourable to a narrow religious policy, that the monarch who attempted it lost his life in a popular revolt and has ever since been universally abhorred as

the *kṛmi kaṇṭha* (the putrid neck). No persecution has ever failed to turn out ultimately to the profit of the persecuted faith, and there is no doubt that the creed of Rāmānuja, already well established in the land by the ministrations of a long line of *āḻvārs* and *ācāryas,* drew fresh strength from the foolish and short-lived attempt to crush it out of existence. The fact remains, however, that from this period, the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas of South India became strangers to that friendly feeling which subsisted between them in an earlier age when they waged a common war against the Bauddhas and the Jainas.

Another spasmodic outburst of anti-Vaiṣṇava feeling is much better attested than the persecution of Rāmānuja, which is so overgrown with legend that the real course of events seems to be lost beyond recovery. We refer to the deeds of Kulōttunga II in Cidambaram which are, as we have seen, clearly attested by contemporary inscriptions and literature. That Kulōttunga II was a fanatic Śaiva who wanted to upset the time-honoured disposition of the images of Śiva and Viṣṇu in the great temple of the holiest centre of South Indian Śaivism cannot be gainsaid. The balance of the two faiths, thus rudely upset by Kulōttunga, was redressed in later days by the Vijayanagar rulers, but once again, the old harmony was gone, and the attitude of the two groups of devotees that have to jostle in the premises of the temple is hardly as friendly as the relative positions of the deities they worship would seem to require.

A measure of the increasing social exclusiveness of the different sects is found in a casual decision, dated A. D. 1160, of the Mahāsabhā of Tirukkaḍaiyūr[42]. 'The *sabhā* resolved that any *māhēśvaras* who, contrary to their tenets as custodians of the Śiva temple and its observances, mixed freely with Vaiṣṇavas, would forfeit their property to the temple.' This is almost the only recorded instance of this kind; even so, its significance is unmistakable. It is, no doubt, typical of the new religious atmosphere, of the steady deterioration that was setting in.

Kāñcī.

The unique position of Kāñcīpuram, one of the capital cities of the Cōḷa empire, is very instructive in regard to the mutual relations of the rival religious systems which were competing for the royal patronage and popular favour. This city is seen to have comprised three principal sections, each consecrated to a particular faith and the institutions ministering to it. The biggest of them all is devoted to Śiva, then comes what is often called Little Kāñcīpuram sacred to Viṣṇu in the form of Hasti-giri-āḻvār or Aruḷāḷa Perumāḷ, and lastly we have Jina-kāñcī, popularly known as Tirupparuttikkunṟu, undoubtedly larger and more prosperous and in more direct and frequent communication with Kāñcīpuram proper in the days of the Cōḷa empire than at the present day. Let us also recall that many vestiges of what must once have been a considerable Buddhist colony have been found at Kāñcīpuram. We see in the plan of the different parts of this great

[42] 257 of 1925.

and ancient city and their mutual relations much that is suggestive of the history of religious beliefs and practices at their best in South India.

The pantheon.

The impression of tolerance and eclecticism that generally characterised the religious outlook of the time is strengthened by a study of the pantheon which included an assortment of all conceivable deities to whom worship was offered throughout the country. Besides images of Śiva in his various aspects[43] like Kirātārjunīya, Bhikṣāṭana, Kalyāṇasundra, Pañcadēha, Lingapurāṇadēva, Umāsahita, Naṭarāja, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Śrī Kaṇṭha and so on, the icons presented to the great temple of Tanjore by its royal patrons included images of Gaṇapati, Subrahmaṇya, Mahā Viṣṇu and Sūrya[44]. There were also images of Śaiva saints receiving regular worship among them like Caṇḍēśvara, the three authors of the *Dēvāram*, Meypporuḷ-nāyanār, Śiṟuttoṇḍar, Śirāḷar[45] and others. Among goddesses are mentioned Kāla-piḍāri, Durgā-Paramēśvari and Ēmaḷattu Durgaiyār Ōmkāra-sundari[46]. The Tanjore inscriptions mention incidentally other minor deities worshipped in several outlying villages; these village deities comprised many forms of Piḍāri, Śēṭṭaiyār (Jyēṣṭhā)[47] and others, whose shrines are called *tirumuṟṟam* as distinguished from the *Śrī Kōyil* of the higher pantheon. The

[43] *SII.* ii, Intr., pp. 29-41.

[44] *ibid;* 606 of 1902; 177 of 1907; and 118 of 1914.

[45] Also 56 and 57 of 1913.

[46] 207 of 1919.

[47] Also 10 of 1898.

seven Mothers[48] are mentioned in other inscriptions, as also Kṛṣṇa[49], Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa[50], and Hanumān[51]. Tiruvoṟṟiyūr offered worship to all the sixty-three Śaiva saints[52], and Kāḷahasti kept the memory of a local legend fresh in the name of a garden called after Kaṇṇappar[53]. Eṇṇāyiram, a strong centre of Vaiṣṇavism, allotted shares from the lands of the village to the shrines of Śrī-Mūlasthānam-uḍaiyār, Sarasvati, Śribhaṭāraki, Mahā-mōḍi, Sūryadēva, Saptamātargaḷ, Mahāśāstā, Durgā, Jyēṣṭhā and the gods of the Śēris[54]. To complete the picture of practical popular religion it may be added that pilgrimages to specially sacred places were known and the charity of some took the form of providing amenities for the pilgrims *en route* to and from Tirumalai (Tirupati)[55]. The regular sacrifice of a goat on every Tuesday to Muṇḍēśvari by the Kurava women of the *nāḍu* is recorded in a Mysore inscription of the time of Rājēndra I[56].

Neo-Hinduism.

There is thus not a single element of popular Hinduism as we know it now that is not represented in the religious practice of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Foreign students

48 705 of 1909; 131 of 1892 (*SII.* iii, 66).
49 93 of 1925; 289 of 1897.
50 244 of 1910.
51 335 of 1906.
52 137 of 1912.
53 125 of 1922.
54 335 of 1917. Sūrya, seven mothers and Śāstā are mentioned together in 131 of 1892.
55 430 of 1905; 255 of 1915.
56 484 of 1911.

of the religious history of India have often been puzzled and sometimes irritated by the utter recklessness with which Hinduism appears to sanction and absorb within itself the basest superstitions and devil worship as well as the noblest and purest forms of worship and meditation[57]. But in religion, as in other matters, the aim was to attain, not equality, but harmony; to evolve a system in which each person and class would find his or its proper place, a foothold from which the next step might be taken. The doctrines of *karma* and rebirth were parts of the living faith of the whole people, and the inclusion, within the common fold, of the more primitive manifestations of the religious impulse was but the result of a metaphysic which saw in the lowliest human being, in fact, in any living creature, a spark of divinity enveloped in the accidents of its own past and working out its way back to its pristine purity. The honoured place held by many *nāyanārs* and *āḻvārs* who were not of the priestly class by birth, and the story of the pariah saint Nandan show that the standard of spiritual values was by no means lowered by the admission of primitive faiths into the ante-chamber of Hinduism. The aim was ever to purify and sublimate the religious impulse, though it is probable that, in the attempt to raise the lower forms, the higher ones did not themselves altogether escape damage.

Asceticism.

The life of the ascetic strongly appealed to the imagination of the people and one of the common forms of religious charity

[57]For an ingenious but perverse explanation of this feature, see Trevaskis—*The Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 57.

was to provide for the feeding, regular or occasional, of ascetics in temples and *maṭhas*. Vaiṣṇavism was on the whole moderate in its devotion to the ascetic ideal, and did not give rise to the bizarre manifestations of it associated with Śaivism. The Vaiṣṇava endowments generally provided for the feeding of *Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas* and *tādar*[58], or of Brahmins who had a perfect mastery of the Veda[59]. And the degenerate Vaiṣṇavism of the Rādhā cult was as yet unknown and had apparently no vogue in the South at any time. Examples of Vaiṣṇava *maṭhas* like the Kundavai *maṭha* at Uttaramērūr[60] can be gathered from inscriptions. Śaivism was at this period in marked contrast with the advaitism of Śankara, Smārta Hinduism as it may be called, and embraced a whole gamut of sectional groups ranging from the comparatively mild Śivayōgins to the extremely fanatical and repulsive groups like the Pāśupatas, the Kāpālikas, and the Kālāmukhas. The Śivayōgin, as his name implies, spent his life meditating upon Śiva and seeking release from the bonds of mundane life by such meditation; at the approach of death, he is said to bathe his body in ashes, utter certain Śaiva mantras and worship the linga on his chest. Many are the inscriptions recording endowments for Śivayōgins being fed in temples and *maṭhas*.[61] The Kālāmukhas, also called

[58] 333 of 1917.

[59] *Vēdam aḷagidāga valla Brāhmaṇar*, 343 of 1917

[60] 184 of 1923.

[61] 467 of 1908; 577 of 1920; 227 of 1911; 101 of 1914; 241 of 1894, etc.

Mahāvratins, were perhaps the most extreme sect among these, and do not seem to have been very different from the Kāpālikas. "The Kālāmukhas hold that the following are the means for the attainment of desires concerning this world and the next:— (1) eating food in skull; (2) besmearing the body with the ashes of a dead body; (3) eating the ashes; (4) holding a club; (5) keeping a pot of wine; (6) worshipping the god as seated therein"[62]. From these practices, they were known as Mahāvratins, "men with the great vows"; they roused the disgust of a humane reformer like Rāmānuja. They appear even to have practised human sacrifices.[63] The Kālāmukhas were widespread in South India in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. They did not lack support from the princes and the people. The Koḍumbāḷūr chieftain Vikramakēsari, the contemporary of Parāntaka II, constructed the three temples (*vimāna-trayam*) known as Mūvarkōvil, and then he presented a big *maṭha* (*bṛhan-maṭham*) to the glorious Mallikārjuna of the Ātrēya *gōtra*, a man from Madhurā, versed in the Veda and the *śiṣya* of Vidyārāśī and Tapōrāśi; to that chief ascetic of the Kālāmukhādāna, his *guru*, the Yādava (Vikramakēsari) also gave eleven *grāmas* attached to the *maṭha* for the regular feeding of fifty *Asita-vaktra* ascetics.[64] Earlier than the date of this record from Pudukkottah, is one from Veḍāḷ (North Arcot) which mentions the

[62] Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
[63] Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*
[64] Pd. No. 14. See also *PK.* pp. 116-7.

Kālāmukha Daśapuriyan of the Hārīta *gōtra* and the Āpastamba *sūtra*[65]. At Mēlpāḍi, in the same part of the country, there was a *maṭha* of the Kālāmukhas of which the head was called Lakulīśvara-Paṇḍita[66]. There was another at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr presided over by Caturānana Paṇḍita[67]. In the reign of Vīrarājēndra, an inscription from Jambai (South Arcot) mentions a Mahāvratin Lakulīśvara Paṇḍita among the authorities of the local temple. A Kālāmukha Gōmaḍattu Aruḷāḷa Bhaṭṭan sold some land to the temple at Kōyil Tēvarāyanpēṭṭai (Tanjore district) in A.D. 1123[68]. Other Kālāmukhas of the same spiritual lineage, bearing the names Śailarāśi and Jñānarāśi, are mentioned as endowing lamps or taking charge of such endowments in the temple of Tiruvānaikkōyil (Chingleput) in the years 1127, 1205 and 1231[69]. All these instances point to the extent and continuity of the influence of the Kālāmukhas on South Indian Śaivism under the Cōḷas. It may be doubted, however, if the members of the sects who were connected with the temples and perhaps conducted worship in them, actively practised the tenets attributed to them. In the absence of contemporary literary evidence on such questions, we lack the means of determining this satisfactorily.

65 85 of 1908.
66 85 of 1889.
67 177, 181 of 1912, etc.
68 247 of 1923.
69 360, 357, 352 of 1911.

A Caturānana Paṇḍita.

The career of one of the Caturānana Paṇḍitas[70] of the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr *maṭha* is rather fully described in an inscription of the time of Kannaradēva, and deserves to be noticed in some detail as affording an interesting and authentic instance of the kind of motives that sent people into a life of ascetic renunciation. Born of a family of local chieftains in Kēraḷa, Valabha who resembled Guha and was possessed of many great qualities, mastered all the arts and sciences in his boyhood and, in the prime of life, bent on service to the world, he reached the Cōḷa country and came to be closely associated with king Rājāditya as his *guru*, friend and *sāmanta*[71]. As, in spite of their proximity,

[70]Names like Lakulīśvara and Caturānana are titles rather than personal names. Failure to grasp this fact firmly has led to some confused writing. Fleet made the mistake of supposing that the founder of Pāśupata was the same as Lakulīśa of the Mēlpāḍi inscriptions, (*EI*. v. p. 228; *contra* Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 ff), who is again identified with his namesake of Jambai (*ARE*. 1907, II, 39). The latter identification is not, like the former, a chronological impossibility; but it is improbable that the same man was in charge of important religious duties at Mēlpāḍi and Jambai about the same time. The Tiruvoṟṟiyūr inscriptions leave no manner of doubt that Caturānana was the title of the head of the local *maṭha* borne by a succession of persons who held the office.

[71]181 of 1912. *ARE*. 1913, II, 17. The *grantha* portion of the inscription which gives the account of the early career of Caturānana is much damaged and not easy to interpret. I have given above what appears to me to be the proper rendering of the first two verses. The first verse is very elliptical, and though it contains the words *vallabha samāhvaya rāṣṭra-nāthāt* and *samabhavad-valabhō*, there is nothing in it to indicate a friendship between the future Caturānana and Kṛṣṇa III (Vallabha). The suggestion is no more than a conjecture, and so long as it was believed that Rājāditya was killed in a treacherous manner (see discussion on *Bisugeye kaḷanāgi* of the Ātakūr inscription, *ante* i, p. 160, n), the conjecture had a certain plausibility which it now lacks altogether. As I understand it, Caturānana renounced the worldly life not out of remorse for treachery to his spiritual pupil, friend and temporal master, but simply out of disgust (*virāgatā*) born of his separation from him by his death on the field, as is clear from the phrase: *sannidhānāt-saha-maraṇa-sukham samyuge tēna nāptaḥ*. One wonders if this man was the same as Veḷḷangumaran, the Kēraḷa general of Rājāditya, who built the Śiva temple at Grāmam (735 of 1905), and was the most prominent among the numberless Kēraḷa servants of Rājāditya.

he did not have the pleasure of dying with his friend on the battle-field, he smarted that his life was not in keeping with his birth and connections, and became indifferent to the things of the world. Then he bathed in the Ganges, and turned ascetic at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, obtaining his *vratas* from Nirañjana guru and becoming a Mahāvratin, Caturānana by name, and head of the local *maṭha*. The inscription which gives this account is dated in the twentieth year of Kannaradēva who took Kacci and Tañjai, about A. D. 960, when he had made himself master of the northern districts of the Cōḷa kingdom as a result of his invasion.

The ascetics owned no property themselves; but their organisations, the monasteries (*maṭhas*), often owned vast estates devoted to their maintenance and the encouragement of learning and the arts. What proportion of the population led such a life of pious, if not uneasy, poverty, and whether it was a larger one than at present, it is of course difficult to determine. The times were quite favourable to the ascetic ideal, and all religious systems in the country applauded it. Asceticism was twice blessed; he who turned ascetic and he who did not do so, but remained householder, alike gained by it. Both accumulated religious merit, for the householder was assured of a good berth in the other world as much for his gifts (*dāna*), as the ascetic for his renunciation and austerity. There was no doubt many a pious fraud masquerading under the garb of asceticism that often afforded the occasion for a good joke among the populace whose common sense was seldom slow in

detecting such cases. But the modern attitude which, in the holy name of economics, counts each man as a hand, and looks upon a mendicant as an idle hand, was altogether unknown. And in spite of its excesses and aberrations, the ascetic ideal has done great good to the people by stressing the higher values of the spirit, and by giving them a ready-made philosophy with which to face the hard realities of life. It is still cherished by the masses of the people, in the villages, though not so much in the cities.

Maṭhas and guhais.

The history of the *maṭhas* and *guhais*[72] of the period cannot be pursued in any detail here. Their origin is anterior to the reign of Rājarāja I[73] and their number and influence steadily increased during the period of Cōḷa rule in South India. Starting from important centres where one or more *maṭhas* were established in the first instance, the movement spread all over the land until almost every temple came to possess one or more *maṭhas* functioning in close proximity to it. They grouped themselves from the beginning round a few prominent centres and in course of time, a limited number of *santānas*, spiritual groups attached to particular successions of gurus, came to be distinguished; examples of such *santānas* are that of the *mudaliyārs* of Tiruccattimuṟṟam[74] and the *māḷigai-maḍattu mudaliyār santānam*

[72] '*Guhai*' means, according to the old Tamil lexicon, the *Pingalam*, a place where ascetics reside (*munivar iruppiḍam*), a monastery. Vide *Tamil Lexicon* s. v. *Guhai*.

[73] *Contra ARE*. 1909 II, 53. Tiruvāduturai (111 of 1925) and Tiruvoṟṟiyūr (181 of 1912) are among the earliest places where *maṭhas* came up. See also *ARE*. 1911, II, 31 for a brief notice of some *maṭhas*.

[74] 392 of 1908.

of Tiruviḍaimarudil[75]. Many of these groups were confined to the Tamil country in the range of their activity; these were the Tamil Śaiva *maṭhas* proper. Others, however, kept up wider contacts and prided themselves on their connection with Āryadēśam, Benares, or even Kashmir; the Gōḷakī *maṭha* had also a considerable following in the South. Generally, the *maṭhas* which maintained these external contacts belonged to the various schools of Pāśupatas, Kāpālikas and so on. There must have been monastic institutions of other types maintained by Śaiva Brahmins and Vaiṣṇavas, though of these we learn relatively little from the inscriptions.

One instance of a *maṭha* in which provision was made for the convenience of pilgrims deserves special mention. A record from Gōvindaputtūr dated A. D. 1248[76], mentions that Subrahmaṇya Śiva of Cidambaram (Vyāghrapurī), a grandson of a certain well known Kandhābharaṇa, purchased land from several persons and created an endowment for certain specific services to be undertaken by the Tiruttoṇḍat-togaiyān-tiru-maḍam situated in the temple of Tiruviśaiyamangai at Gōvindaputtūr. Among the services to be undertaken with the proceeds of the land were the supply of salt and castor oil to pilgrims, and medical help for those among the disciples who fell ill and had no one to look after them. It is also of interest to note that Subrahmaṇya Śiva, evidently also the head of the *maṭha,* laid it down that his successors

[75]49 of 1911.
[76]192 of 1929.

duly appointed by him for the administration of the *maṭha* at the end of his life were to carry on this arrangement, and in case he died without choosing his successor, he was to be chosen by the head of another *maṭha* at Cidambaram (also called Tiruttoṇḍattogaiyān-tirumaḍam) and that the new head so chosen was to carry on the arrangements under that particular endowment. It is possible that similar provisions for general amenities, besides feeding and teaching, commonly undertaken by these institutions, obtained elsewhere; but we have no definite knowledge of them. It has been pointed out that sometimes even animals were attended to in similar institutions, and an instance from the Travancore country has been cited[77].

A kalaham.

Before leaving the *maṭhas,* attention must be drawn to a popular riot described in a record of the second year of Rājarāja III[78] as *guhai-iḍi-kalaham,* a revolt in which monasteries were demolished. This occurred in the twenty-second regnal year of Kulōttunga III, A. D. 1200, and in it, the property belonging to a *guhai* in Tirutturaipūṇḍi suffered badly. The causes of this demonstration are not stated and we cannot even say whether it was directed against this particular *guhai* or *guhais* in general; on the later assumption, it is indeed very strange that we hear nothing more of it than this casual reference to it[79].

77 *ARE.* 1929, II, 39; *TAR.* 1920-21, p. 64.

78 471 of 1912.

79 Contra *ARE.* 1913, II, 42.

The role of the temple.

In the long period of Cōḷa rule the Hindu temple attained the zenith of its influence on the social life of the country. It ceased to be a small structure of brick and mortar providing a centre of simple worship attended by the villagers. The new idea of the stone temple found room for the employment of much skill and taste in its planning and decoration. With its rise, there came up also a varied and complex routine in each temple sustained by the rich accumulations in land and gold, the result of pious gifts, offered with a generosity and administered with a care to which we have long become strangers. Each generation husbanded with caution what was handed down to it, and by means of fresh additions, managed to leave a richer heritage to its successor. The vast and growing wealth of the temples brought them into more and more intimate business relations with the neighbourhood. And in Tanjore, there rose under Rājarāja's eye, as under a magician's wand, the marvellous Great Temple which surpassed everything effected elsewhere by generations of effort. Not only did its stately plan ensure for it an abiding place as the masterpiece of south Indian Temple architecture, but the elaborate arrangements made for the management of the affairs of the temple and carefully recorded in the inscriptions on its walls, summed up the best practices of the time in this regard and set a model for the future. A deliberate desire to bring the temple into intimate touch with several aspects of the life of the people marks almost every one of these arrangements. As the Great Temple adorned the capital

city of the whole empire, and as it was the foundation of the greatest monarch of Southern India, the range of its contacts was naturally much wider than that of an average temple; but almost every temple, however small in size and restricted in influence, was a miniature of the Great Temple and had its counterpart of every feature of the larger institution.

The Great Temple.

The Great Temple of Tanjore was easily the richest temple of the time. The king alone had by the twenty-ninth year of his reign presented to it a vast amount of gold and treasure in the form of ornaments, jewels and vessels. Much of it was booty that fell to him as a result of his wars. The quantity of gold of which account has been preserved amounted to over 41,500 *Kaḻañjus,* or, taking a *Kaḻañju* to be about 70 grains, well over 500 lbs. troy. The value of jewels presented was about 10,200 *Kāśus,* equal to half as many *Kaḻañjus,* in gold[80]. Of silver he gave 50,650 *Kaḻanjus,* over 600 lbs. troy. He set apart lands in several villages throughout his dominions, including Ceylon, yielding an annual income of 116,000 *Kalams* of paddy, equal at the then prevailing prices[81] to 58,000 *Kāśus,* besides a cash income of 1,100 *Kāśus.* For the service of the temple, four hundred hetaerae were impressed from among those of the other temples in the country, and they were assigned each a *pangu* (share) comprising a house and one *Vēli* of land yielding a net revenue of 100 *Kalams* of paddy a year. About 180

[80] *SII.* ii, 38, paragraph 48.
[81] *SII.* ii, p. 68.

such shares were set apart further for the maintenance of as many as 212 men servants comprising dancing masters, musicians, drummers, tailors, goldsmiths, accountants and so on. Among these were three persons to sing the *Āriyam* and four others the *Tamil,* apparently the two systems of music called *ahamārgam* and *dēśi* elsewhere[82]. There was constituted also a choir of fifty persons for reciting the *Tiruppadiyam* to the accompaniment of musical instruments; the choir had the power to fill vacancies by co-option in case any of them died or migrated elsewhere leaving behind no relative suitable to take his place; the daily remuneration for each of them was fixed at three *Kuṟuṇis* of paddy-corn[83]. Rājarāja's elder sister Kundavai presented to the temple gold of the weight of nearly 10,000 *Kaḻañjus* and utensils of the value of 18,000 *Kāśus.* Others, queens and high officials and regiments of soldiers, made other gifts recorded with equal care and precision on the temple walls and pillars. All the cash endowments amounting to several thousands of Kāśus were loaned out to numerous village assemblies at rates of interest fixed in kind or money, and generally ranging about 12% per annum. Camphor, cardamom-seeds, campak-buds and cuscus-roots, for instance, were provided for in this manner by means of cash endowments.[83a]

In fact, the place of the Great Temple in the economy of the capital city and of the empire can hardly

[82] 360 of 1907; 211 of 1912.

[83] *SII.* ii, 65.

[83a] A lamp of ghī and camphor to be maintained in the temple of Śauripperumāḷ at Tirukkaṇṇapuram required, in A.D. 1129, an endowment of 20 *kaḻañjus* in gold. (509 of 1922).

be exaggerated. Its construction must have extended over many years and furnished employment for the best architects and sculptors of the land during these years, besides a vast number of common labourers. The accurate and detailed descriptions of the numerous icons, some of them cast in the form of complex groups of figures in attitudes illustrating the favourite themes of legend, give the impression of a high state of efficiency attained in the art of casting metals and of a more or less constant and profitable employment for the skilled artisans. The account, equally minute and complete, of the ornaments and jewels with which the images were decked testifies to the superior excellence reached in the art of the goldsmith, and the extent to which it was promoted by a rich temple. And as a matter of course, every temple, great or small, held in relation to its neighbourhood exactly the same position that the Great Temple had in the capital. The difference was only one of degree. As landholder, employer, and consumer of goods and services, as bank, school and museum, as hospital and theatre, in short, as a nucleus which gathered round itself all that was best in the arts of civilised existence and regulated them with the humaneness born of the sprit of Dharma, the mediaeval Indian temple has few parallels in the annals of mankind. The examples of searching periodical inquests by the highest officers of the central government, sometimes by the king himself, into the management and affairs of the temples, that are recorded in the inscriptions, show that the Cōḷa government realised the increasing social importance of the role of the temple and the need for the exercise

of a steady and vigilant control on the business side of its affairs[84].

Jainism.

By the side of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism and the the other forms taken by Hinduism to which attention has been drawn, Jainism had a fair following and enjoyed the patronage of the princes and people, though not to the same extent as the orthodox creeds. The *paḷḷic-candam,* the land of the *paḷḷi* (Jaina temple), was a recognised category of tax-free land known to the revenue accounts of the time. Tamil literature was greatly enriched by the writings of Jain authors, and legend avers that as late as the middle of the twelfth century Śēkkiḻār was goaded into the composition of his magnificent 'Lives of the Saints' (*Periya-purāṇam*) by king Kulōttunga II seeking literary enjoyment in the verses of the *Śīvaka-Śindāmaṇi,* a secular *kāvya* in Tamil by a Jain author. Vestiges of Jainism have been discovered in the Travancore country which, though undated, may with some confidence be assigned to the period extending from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries[85]. And the Cōḷa inscriptions contain noteworthy references to Jain centres in the Tamil districts. The Udayēndiram plates of Hastimalla record that the Digambara Jains had an ancient *paḷḷic-candam* comprising two *paṭṭis* of land which were specifically excluded from the gift of the village of Kaḍaikkōṭṭūr made in the reign of

[84] Details of such instances are cited in my paper on *The Economy of a South Indian Temple in the Cōḷa Period* in the Malaviya Commemoration Volume.

[85] *TAS.* ii, pp. 125 ff.

Parāntaka I[86]. There was at Veḍāl (N. Arcot) a large Jain monastery in which some dispute arose between one nun and her five hundred pupils on the one part and four hundred nuns on the other, and was put an end to only by the lay Jains of the place taking under their protection one of the parties to the dispute[87]. This was about A.D. 885. At Śiṟṟāmūr in South Arcot an inscription of the seventeenth year of a Rājakēsari records the provision of a lamp in the *maṇḍapa* of the temple of Pārśvanātha in which the scripture was expounded[88]. A certain Gangāśūra-pperumbaḷḷi of Rājēndrapuram finds mention in a record from Tirakkōl (N. Arcot)[89]; and a Kanaka-sēnabhaṭāra who had the *paḷḷi* is found at Śendalai in the twelfth year of a Parakēsari[90]. At Ānandamanga-lam in the Chingleput district, on a boulder which bears in a line the sculptures of three groups of Jaina figures, is found engraved a record which provides for the daily feeding of one *aḍigaḷ* in the Jinagirip-paḷḷi[91]. This record is dated A.D. 945 in the reign of Parāntaka I. In the same year, a pupil of Ariṣṭanēmibha-ṭāra, of the big Jain settlement of Tiruppānmalai, Pattinik-kuratti-aḍigaḷ by name, caused a well to be dug at Viḷāppākkam, and the well and a house were constituted into a nunnery, under the supervision of 'the twenty-four' of the place[92]. In the

[86] *SII*. ii, 76, vv. 27-8.
[87] *SII*. iii, 92.
[88] 201 of 1902.
[89] 277 of 1916.
[90] 7 of 1899.
[91] 430 of 1922.
[92] 53 of 1900. Possibly the 24 formed a local Jain assembly, the number being that of the Tīrthankaras.

seventeenth year of Rājarāja, two lamps were endowed by a land grant to the big monastery (*periya-paḷḷi*) in Tirunaṟungoṇḍai, a *paḷḷic-candam* in South Arcot.[93] Tirumalai near Pōḷūr in North Arcot, and Tirumalavāḍi in the Trichinopoly district where Kundavai built a Jain temple are other great Jain centres of the time[94]. At Tirupparuttikkunṟam, a suburb of Kāñcīpuram, there is a celebrated Jain shrine to this day. This place is often called Jina Kāñcī, and its *Ṛṣisamudāya*, congregation of monks, is said to have purchased some land about A.D. 1116[95], and the same *samudāya* is just mentioned in another inscription of a slightly later date in the reign of Vikrama Cōḷa[96]. An undated inscription of the reign of Kulōttunga I records a gift of land to a *perumbaḷḷi* (big Jain temple), called after the king's name, at Kuhūr, in the Tanjore district[97]. Two other *paḷḷis* are mentioned in an inscription of A. D. 1194 from Maruttuvakkuḍi, Tanjore district[98]. The settlement at Jina-Kāñcī is once more mentioned in A.D. 1199, when Kurukkaḷ-candrakīrtti and some others are said to have exerted themselves to secure the grant of a *paḷḷic-canda iṟaiyili* for this important shrine.[98a]

Facts like these raise a warning against a wholesale acceptance of the stories of the persecution and

[93] 385 of 1902.

[94] *SII*. i, 67 and 68. Kundavai built another Jain temple at Dādāpuram. (ante p. 486).

[95] 382 of 1929.

[96] 381 of 1929.

[97] 288 of 1917.

[98] 392 of 1907.

[98a] 43 of 1890.

extirpation of Jainism and Buddhism, so freely retailed in the hagiology of the Hindu sects.

Buddhism.

Buddhism does not seem to figure as much in the epigraphy of the period as Jainism. The celebrated Leyden grant indeed records the gift of a whole village to the Bauddha *Vihāra* of Cūḍāmaṇi-Varmadēva in Negapatam, and this grant was supplemented by a fresh gift in the reign of Kulōttunga I, on a representation made by the king of Kaḍāram through his ambassadors. And the Vaiṣṇava legends have preserved a curious story of Tirumangai Āḻvār having despoiled the Bauddha *Vihāra* of Negapatam of a solid golden image of the Buddha in order to find the funds required for building the great Ranganātha temple at Śrīrangam; possibly this legend only means that at the time the lives of the Āḻvārs were put together, in the twelfth century A.D., Negapatam was still a strong centre of Buddhism which attracted popular attention by its wealth and influence. Some relics of Buddhism have been traced in Kāñcīpuram[99] and it is quite possible that Kāñcīpuram which was one of the great centres of Hinduism and Jainism also accommodated a Buddhist colony in these days. Śrī Mūlavāsam in Malabar, on almost the same latitude as Negapatam on the opposite coast, was another well known centre of Buddhism whose influence was felt from very early times in places as far from it as Gāndhāra[100]. A more systematic search for Buddhist antiquities in Southern

[99] *IA.*, 44, p. 127.

[100] *TAS.* ii, p. 117.

India than has yet been undertaken my reveal other centres of that religion not now known to us. Buddhist writers also contributed to the growth of Tamil Literature, though not to the same extent as Jains. All the same, epigraphy and literature alike produce the impression that in the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian era, Buddhism was less popular in the Tamil country than Jainism, and it seems probable that in the religious controversies of the preceding age, Buddhism suffered more damage and lost its hold on the people of the country more completely than Jainism.

General harmony.

The picture of religious life in the country is thus a complex one. There was a perpetual stirring and mixing together of various creeds each influencing the others and being influenced in turn. As a result of this long process of assimilation, the Buddhist *vīhāra,* the Jain *paḷḷi,* and the Hindu temple presented many similarities in their worship, organisation and festivities in the midst of equally striking differences; and the ideals of asceticism and renunciation made a common appeal to all these religions alike. On the whole the religious differences of the time, such as they were, did not tend to produce social discord, and a general attitude of mutual tolerance, if not respect, seems to have been well sustained.

Lost poems.

The names of some works have been preserved casually in the inscriptions; these works are altogether unknown otherwise; they were once considered worthy of public recognition, but having no access to the works themselves, we are not in a position to decide if the recognition was a homage to their literary excellence or was the result of other causes, local or personal. However that may be, the names of these works and the occasions for their being mentioned in inscriptions give us some idea of the extent of popular interest in literary productions and of the types of literature that commanded popularity. Rājarāja I, perhaps the greatest emperor of the line, was the subject of two works, a drama and a *Kāvya*. They are the *Rājarājēśvara-nāṭakam* and the *Rājarāja-vijayam*[1]; the former was to be enacted in the great Tanjore temple during festivals and the latter was to be read in the temple at Tiruppūndurutti, and endowments were created to provide for both. It is not certain if these works were in Tamil or Sanskrit; it seems probable that the *nāṭakam* was not a drama based on Rājarāja's life, but rather a dramatic representation of the construction of the great temple itself, if it was not merely an attempt to popularise some Śaiva legends. The *Rājarāja-Vijayam* might have been a quasi-historical poem treating of Rājarāja's reign. In any case, both the works must have contained several allusions, if not accurate descriptions, of some of the most striking episodes in

[1] *SII*. ii, p. 306; 120 of 1931. *ARE*. 1931, II, 12.

Rājarāja's life, and the loss of these works is indeed much to be regretted. Kulōttunga I was the subject of another work, *Kulōttunga-Cōḷa-caritai*, by Tirunārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa, also called Kavi-kumuda-candra, a pandit from Mānakulāśaniccēri in Tribhuvani, and the poet was given as reward (*sar̤kāram*) land of the extent of half a *nilam* and two *mā*-s by the *sabhā* of the village, the land being always assessable only at the rate prevailing for the twelfth grade. The award was made by the *sabhā* in accordance with an order from the king requiring them to adjudge the *kāvya* and reward the author suitably[2]. Two inscriptions from Cuddalore, South Arcot, dated 1111 and 1119 A.D., record gifts of tax-free land in recognition of a *sthalapurāṇa* and a *nāṭaka* (based on local legends) composed by a certain Kamalālaya Bhaṭṭa; the works were called *Kannivana-purāṇam* and *Pūm-puliyūr-nāḍagam*, names which seem to imply that they were Tamil works of a popular character[3]. In endowing a lamp at Tiruvālangāḍu, North Arcot, in 1210 A.D., the donor, Ar̤anilaiviśākhan Trailōkyamallan Vatsarājan of Arumbākkam, describes himself as a person who rendered the Bhārata in elegant Tamil and discovered the path of Śiva[4]. In 1146 a certain Marudattūr-uḍaiyān states that he gave to the temple at Nāngupaṭṭi some land which he had received from Vedavanamuḍaiyān of Paiyyūr whom he had celebrated in verse[5]. Two other instances occur in

[2] 198 of 1919.

[3] 129, 128 of 1902.

[4] *Pāradandannai arundamiḻppaḍuttuc-civaner̤i-kaṇḍa*, 482 of 1905.

[5] 335 of 1914; Pd. 129;—*nān kavi pāḍi pāḍina kavikku enakku pariśil tanda tan kāṇiyāna kuḍikkāḍu*.

inscriptions which, though doubtless of the Cōḷa period, cannot be more precisely dated as the names of the kings in whose reigns the records were engraved are not given. When the king was witnessing a dance by Pūngōyil-nāyakat-talaikkōli in one of the pavilions in the temple at Tiruvārūr, he was pleased to order the gift of some *iṟaiyili* land in the *brahmadēya* village Vāyāṟṟūr to Pūngōyil Nambi who had celebrated a feudatory of the king (*nammagan*), Vīraśoḷa Aṇukkan, in a poem called *Vīraṇukka-vijayam*[6]; evidently the Nambi and the *talaikkōli* were ministering in the same shrine. Lastly, the officers of the treasury of the temple of Tiruvallam gave away 100 *kuḻis* from the temple lands to Varadayap-pulavar of Kuṟaṭṭi who had composed the *Vallai-andādi*, a poem in praise of the local deity in which each verse began with the concluding words or syllables or letters of the preceding one[6a]. These examples of forgotten poems mentioned in the inscriptions, and nowhere else, attest the existence of a fairly widespread literary activity of a popular character. When we add to this, the list of poems and other works fragments of which are preserved in the older commentaries and glosses, we may safely conclude that much excellent work has been lost beyond recovery. This is true to some extent of the ancient literature of any country; but with regard to South India, the impression is hard to resist that this loss has been very considerable and that, with

[6] 548 of 1904.

[6a] 233 of 1921.

some remarkable exceptions, the survivals have been the result more of caprice and accident than of deliberate choice or of an active literary criticism.

Perungadai.

About the close of Pāṇḍya-Pallava period must be placed the important Tamil version of the Bṛhat-kathā, *Perungadai* or *Udayaṇan Kadai* by the poet who is known by the name Kongu-vēḷir, the *vēḷ* (chieftain) of Kongu. Very little is known of his life; a verse in a recent work, *Kongu-maṇḍalaśatakam* states that he was a native of Mangai, which has been identified with Vijayamangalam in the Erode Taluq of the Coimbatore district. Aḍiyārkku-nallār, the celebrated annotator of the *Śilappadikāram,* has said that *Udayaṇan Kadai* was based on a study of several works of the age of the second Śangam; from this the conclusion has been drawn that this work may date from the third century A.D. or earlier[7]. This is, however, by no means certain; all that we can say is that in the days of Aḍiyārkkunallar in the twelfth century A.D., this belief was current about *Udayaṇan-kadai*[8]. On the other hand, it is the opinion of Svāminātha Aiyar, the great scholar to whom we owe a masterly edition of all that has survived of this work[9], that it was indebted to the Sanskrit version known to have been made by the Ganga ruler Durvinīta in the sixth century A.D. The story of Udayana is very well known

[7] *JRAS.*, 1906, pp. 689-92.

[8] V. Svaminatha Aiyar, *Perungadai*, p. xxviii, cf. Lacote *Guṇāḍhya and the Bṛhat Kathā* (Tr. by Tabard, 1923), p. 148.

[9] *op. cit.*, p. viii, n.

and need not be detailed here; of the adventures of his son, Naravāhana, the most original part of Guṇāḍhya's work, the *Perungadai* in its extant parts knows little. These comprise a hundred sections of varying length, the shortest being about fifty lines and the longest a little over two hundred. The metre is *ahaval,* a very flexible type, analogous to blank verse in English, and most suited for narrative poetry. The style of the author is very chaste and direct, and the poem rightly takes a high rank among the literary classics of the Tamil world.

Śindāmaṇi.

The *Śīvakaśindāmaṇi* of the Jain poet Tiruttakkadēva is counted as the greatest among the *mahākāvyas* of Tamil literature. As it is seen to follow the *Kṣattracūḍāmaṇi* of Vādībhasimha, itself based on the *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra composed in A.D. 898[10], there can be little doubt that the *Śindāmaṇi* was composed sometime in the tenth century[11]. Naccinārkkiniyar states that the author was born of the race of the Cōḷas[12]. A later tradition cherished by Tamil Jains adds that after a full course of study in Tamil and Sanskrit, he turned an ascetic at a relatively early age and went to Madura to live there for sometime in the company of the great poets of the Tamil Śangam. While admitting the distinction earned by Jain writers in the line of religious and holy literature, these poets

[10] *Kṣattracūḍāmaṇi* ed. T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, (1903), p. 3 of the Introduction.

[11] *Śīvakaśindāmaṇi,* p. 11, n. *Śen Tamiḻ,* v. pp. 98 ff.

[12] v. 3143.

challenged their capacity in general, and that of Tiruttakkadēvar in particular, to contribute to the literature of Love. The ascetic poet took up the challenge, and having satisfied his *guru* that he would not lose his spiritual balance if he was permitted to produce an erotic poem, he composed the big poem on the life of Jīvakan, the subject prescribed by his master. The result pleased the *guru;* but it did not give the quietus to the critics of the Śangam, who, unable to deny the merits of the poem, now raised a suspicion against the character of its author, saying that one who had no experience of sex-life could not have produced it; Tiruttakkadēvar then demonstrated the purity of his devotion to the ascetic ideal by means of an ordeal. We may not accept these tales as history, especially because there is nothing in the poem of Tiruttakkadēvar that cannot be explained on the simple supposition that the Jain poet wanted to set forth in Tamil one of the most romantic and edifying cycles of tales preserved in the Purāṇas of the Jainas.

The life story of Jīvaka is that of an ideal hero, equally distinguished in the arts of war and peace, the perfect saint no less than the charming lover. After a stormy youth marked by many adventures, Jīvaka finds himself in the prime of life the monarch of a splendid kingdom; for some years thereafter he lives a life of pleasure in the company of the eight splendid queens whom he had espoused at different times earlier in life; in fact, the *Śindāmaṇi* is also called Maṇa-nūl, the Book of Marriages, on account of each of Jīvaka's adventures culminating in a happy marriage.

Jīvaka is shaken from his complacency by an incident, trivial in itself, but full of deep significance to him. He sees in a moment's flash the hollowness of human life and the wisdom of seeking release from its bonds. He installs his son on the throne and seeks the peace of the forest, and attains salvation in the end.

In its present form the poem contains 3,145 stanzas, each stanza being made up of four lines. It is said that the author actually composed only 2,700 stanzas, the remaining 445 being later additions by his guru, with whose permission he wrote the poem, and by another hand[13]. The annotator has marked out two verses as those of the *guru,* but there is no means of identifying the additions of the other writer mentioned above, if there were such additions. The art of Tiruttakkadēvar is marked by all the qualities of great poetry and has, as is well-known, furnished the model for even the genius of Kamban. We shall see that it also inspired, though indirectly, the composition of the *Periya-Purāṇam.*

It seems probable that two other *mahākāvyas,* the *Vaḷaiyāpati* and the *Kuṇḍalakēśi,* known so far only by fragments cited in other works, were both composed more or less about the same time as the *Śiṅdāmaṇi.* The *Kuṇḍalakēśi,* it may be noted, is one of the few known Buddhist Tamil works besides the *Maṇimēkalai.*

[13]Naccinārkkiniyar on v. 3143 and *n.* on p. 914 by Svāminātha Aiyar,

Kallāḍam.

The *Kallāḍam* is a poem of Kallāḍanār, the work and the author alike taking the name of a place[14], possibly the birth-place of the poet. He must have been different from the Śangam poet of the same name, five of whose songs figure in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*[15], and others in the *Ahanāṉūṟu* and *Kuṟundogai.* There is a tradition that the author of the *Kallāḍam* chose one hundred verses from the *Tirucciṟṟambalak-kōvai* as the basis for his work, and this may well have been so. The work is written in a peculiar style, the result of the author's forced attempt to revive the poetic forms and diction of the Śangam age. The whole poem is thus a curious instance of extreme pedantry. It comprises a hundred pieces, each purporting to depict a particular mood of love (*Ahattuṟai*). The formalised, schematic and rather soulless treatment of love in the *Kōvai* type appears, to a modern mind, enough in itself to spoil the chances of real literature; our author has imposed further shackles on himself by tying himself up to a selection of verses from the *Tiruk-kōvai* and by his deliberate effort to write in an idiom unnatural in his age; and there is no evidence to suggest that the author meant it to be a mere burlesque or parody; in

[14] *Kallāḍattuk-kalandinidaruḷi, Tiruvāśagam* (*Kīrtti,* l. 11).

[15] One of these (385) is in celebration of Aruvandai, the chief of Ambar in the Tanjore district. This chief may have been the patron of the author of Śēndan Divākaram; R. Raghava Aiyangar (*Śen Tamiḻ* v. pp. 114 ff.) has argued that the *Divākaram* was composed more than 1800 years ago. On the other hand, S. Vaiyapuri Pillai (*Nāma-Deepa-Nighaṇṭu,* p. iv) suggests that the Aruvandai of the *Divākaram* might have been a descendant of the Aruvandai of the *Puṟanāṉūṟu,* and proposes the first half of the eighth century as the date of the *Divākaram.*

fact it is too serious for that, and the story is that the excellence of the *Tirukkōvai* was demonstrated to the satisfaction of the Śangam only by this effort of Kallāḍanār. The decay of taste and the failure to reach a proper standard of literary criticism and maintain it, is best seen in the admiration in which this stilted composition has been held by generations of scholars and poets in recent times.[16]

Kallāḍanār was fully acquainted with the cycle of Śaiva legends centring round Madura[16a], and refers to the miracles wrought by Śiva on account of Māṇikkavāśagar, Darumi, Iḍaikkāḍar and others. It is probable that the *Tirukkaṇṇappadēvar Tirumaṟam* included in the eleventh section of the Śaiva canon was also his work. There is no definite evidence on the age of the *Kallāḍam;* it may be as early as the tenth century, or it may be much later. It is a safe assumption that in any case it belongs to the age of the Imperial Cōḷas.

Kalingattup-paraṇi.

The *Kalingattupparaṇi* composed by the poet laureate Jayangoṇḍār towards the close of the reign of Kulōttunga I is the earliest and best of the *paraṇis* accessible to us. It is a splendid little masterpiece. The line between history and fictitious convention is very clearly seen throughout the poem; and the poet's

[16]The saying is: *Kallāḍam kaṟṟavaniḍattu śollāḍādē;* this may be true in a sense different from the one intended. The work, it should be noted, is not cited by any of the great commentators.

[16a]Kūḍaṟpaḍivaru māḍaṟpariyōn
eṭṭeṭṭiyaṟṟiya kaṭṭamar śaḍaiyōn—95.

mastery of a choice diction, and the sustained harmony between the metres employed and the incidents portrayed, are unique in the whole range of Tamil literature. The *paraṇi* is the war poem *par excellence* and depicts not only the pomp and circumstance of war, but all the gruesome details of the field. It may be noted in passing that the Kalinga war of Kulōttunga seems to have been the theme of several literary efforts; to judge from the stray verses on the subject preserved by the commentaries on the *Vīraśōḻiyam* and the *Daṇḍiyalaṅgāram,* a good part of the results of these efforts has been lost irretrievably. The survival of the *Kalingattupparaṇi* in its entirety is perhaps due to its supreme merit; for there are several instances in the history of Indian literatures of one good book killing many inferior ones. Jayangoṇḍār had many imitators but no rival among the poets of later times.

Kūttan.

Kūttan or Oṭṭakkūttan came of the class of Śengundar who seem to have pursued the occupations of fighting in the army as privates and captains, and of weaving[17]. Born in a poor family in Malari, an obscure village in the Cōḷa country,[18] he sought service under Śankaran, the chieftain of Puduvai and father of Śaḍaiyan, the patron of the more celebrated

[17] The *Divākaram* has: Śengundap-paḍaiyar śēnait-talaivar tantuvāyar kārugar kaikkōḷar, though there seems to be no good Ms. authority for this.

[18] Kūttan's birth-place is given differently in different accounts. Maṇavai takes the place of Malari in some, while others give to Shiyāḷi the honour of having been the place of Kūttan's birth. But Malari is borne out epigraphically—109 of 1928.

Kamban. A certain Gāngēyan soon discovered that Kūttan was destined for a higher purpose than household service under Śankaran, and Kūttan expressed his gratitude by composing the *Nālāyirakkōvai* on his patron Gāngēya. Another patron of Kūttan was a certain Sōman of Puvanai, i.e. Tribhuvani near Pondicherry. When his fame rose, Kūttan was entertained in their court by three successive Cōḷa monarchs beginning with Vikrama Cōḷa; on each of them he composed an *ulā,* besides a *paraṇi* celebrating Vikrama Cōḷa's Kalinga war, and a *piḷḷaittamiḻ* on Kulōttunga II. The last poem is easily the best among the known compositions of the poet on account of its copious diction, its melodious verse, and fine imagery. The stories of the circumstances leading to Kūttan's composition of the *Īṭṭi-yeḻupadu, Eḻuppeḻupadu* and the *Takkayāgapparaṇi* belong more to anthropology than history. When the poet's fame stood at its highest, the *śengundar* wanted Kūttan to celebrate the glories of their community, and when the poet sought to excuse himself saying that he could not be expected to employ his talents in praising his own community, the irate *śengundar* made up their minds to do away with the man who was so utterly devoid of caste-consciousness. The poet escaped with his life by a trick played by his friends on the foolish *śengundar,* but then he agreed to praise the *Īṭṭi* (spear), the chief weapon of the *śengundar* in war, if they would make an offering of 1008 heads severed from the shoulders of as many first-born *śengundar* youths for the goddess to inspire Kūttan to his enterprise. After some

argument this was agreed to, and Kūttan sang the *Īṭṭiyeḻupadu,* seventy verses in praise of the spear, and the *Eḻuppeḻupadu,* seventy verses calculated to bring back to life the 1008 youths whose lives had been sacrificed. Of the second poem only some fragments are left and these are by no means entitled to a high place as Tamil poetry. The *Īṭṭiyeḻupadu,* also poor poetry, contains a number of local allusions to apparently historical incidents in which *śengundar* soldiers and chieftains played a part; but there is no means yet of explaining these allusions and the annotators, unwilling to confess ignorance, fabricate stories of legendary origin. Kūttan is said to have become Oṭṭakkūttan after he got the severed heads of the *śengundar* youths to attach themselves (*oṭṭa*) again to their respective bodies. A more plausible, if less romantic, story accounts for the name by saying that, at the request of the Cōḷa king, the poet attached (*oṭṭa*) a *kaṇṇi* of the *ulā* to another verse composed by him on the spot. The *Takkayāgapparaṇi,* obviously an imitation of the *Kalingattupparaṇi,* in its metres and diction, handles a legendary theme with considerable force and power, and must rank high as literature, though well below its model. Other poems attributed to Kūttan are the *Sarasvatiyandādi* (said to be the very first of his compositions) in praise of Sarasvati, the goddess of learning, by whose grace he became a poet; and the *Arumbait-toḷḷāyiram.* The village of Kūttanūr on the banks of the Ariśil river in the Tanjore district keeps alive the memory of the poet and the patronage

of his talents by the Cōḷa rulers who gave him the village as a fief. A Sarasvati temple in it, and a pedestal inscribed in Tamil characters of the 12th century and recording that Kavipperumāḷ *alias* Ōvāda-kūttar, the grandson of the Kaviccakravarti of Malari, set up an image of Sarasvati[19], now lost, show that the stories which connect Kūttan with Sarasvati in a special manner are not altogether unfounded[20].

Kamban.

A greater poet than Oṭṭakūttan was his junior contemporary Kamban, the celebrated author of the *Rāmāyaṇam*. This poem is the greatest epic in Tamil literature, and though the author states that he follows in the wake of Vālmīki, still his work is no mere translation nor even an adaptation of the Sanskrit original. In the treatment of the incidents in the story, and in the portrayal of the chief characters in it, Kamban makes many wide departures and handles the subject matter with a mastery and originality and a depth of poetic experience seldom equalled in Tamil literature. Like the other great poets who have enriched the literatures of the different languages of India and the East by their works on the Rāma story, Kamban imports into his narration the colour of his own time and place. Thus his description of Kōsala is an idealised account of the features of the Cōḷa country, and when he

[19] 109 of 1928. *ARE*. 1928, I 3; 1932 II, 47.

[20] For notices of Kūttan see: Pandit V. Svāminātha Aiyar—Introduction to *Takkayāgapparaṇi*; R. Raghava Aiyangar—*Śen Tamiḻ* iii, pp. 164 ff.; and *Śengundar Pirabandattiraṭṭu* by Nāgalinga Munivar (1926).

wants to emphasise the glory of moonlight, he brings it home to his readers by saying that it spread everywhere like the fame of his patron, Śaḍaiyan of Veṇṇai[21]. Rāma himself was as much master of the Tamil idiom as of the Sanskrit[22]. Sometimes Kamban is influenced by the somewhat rigid canons of Tamil poetics, as when he enters on an elaborate analysis of the emotions of Rāma and Sītā after a chance meeting which takes place immediately on Rāma's entry into Mithilā. Elsewhere, as in the description of Sītā's behaviour when Hanumān handed over Rāma's ring to her, Kamban elaborates a brief hint of Sītā's emotions thrown out by Vālmīki who says that she rejoiced as if she had rejoined her husband. He compresses Vālmīki's account at other points, as in Daśaratha's *aśvamēdha.*

From amidst a mass of legend centring round the name of the great poet, some facts seem to stand out prominently. His father was Āditya a resident of Mūvalūr (Tanjore Dt. Mayavaram Tq.) in Tiruvaḻundūr-nāḍu, and he seems to have been an *uvaccan* by caste[23]. Early in life, he attracted the attention of Śaḍaiyappavaḷḷal *alias* Śararāman, the Trigarta chieftain of Puduvai who is perhaps the same as the Trigarta mentioned in the *Vikramaśōḻan-ulā*[24] and in some undated inscriptions from Mūvalūr and Tirukkōḍikāval in which he is also described as Cēdirāya of the Gangā race[25]. He was patronised

[21] *Mitilaikkāṭci* v. 74.

[22] *Nagarnīngu-paḍalam* v. 140.

[23] An *arcaka* in the temples of Kāḷi and similar deities.

[24] *ante* p. 70.

[25] 29-34 of 1925; 57-58 of 1931. *ARE.* 1925 II 43. All *veḷḷālas* are conventionally described as being of the Gangai-kula.

by the contemporary Cōḷa king and was granted by him a fief called Kambanāḍu and the title Kavic-cakravarti. He undertook the composition of the Rāmāyaṇa, or rather *Rāmāvatāra* as he seems to have called it, out of an unbounded love for the theme, and he carried the story only up to the return of Rāma to Ayōdhyā and his coronation as king, the *uttara kāṇḍam* being the work either of Oṭṭakkūttan or a lesser celebrity by name Vāṇidāsan or Vāṇiyan Tādan.

Perhaps less worthy of credence are some other details of a personal nature. He fell in love with a dancing girl Valli whom he met in the Śaiva *maṭha* presided over by Caturānana Paṇḍita at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, and verses are preserved in the *Tamiḻ-nāvalar-caritai* which purport to record Kamban's great love and admiration of Valli and his dissatisfaction with another claimant to his affections. The story goes that Kamban commanded the regard of all the ruling sovereigns of his time, including the Pāṇḍya and the Kākatīya Rudra, and that the Cōḷa ruler, jealous of his fame and anxious to get rid of his over-mighty subject, plotted his murder and executed it in person; there is no means yet of deciding if this puerile account of the poet's end has any foundation[26].

His date.

The date of Kamban has been much disputed, but there seems to be now little room left to doubt that he was a contemporary of Oṭṭakkūttan and of Śēkkiḻār. The palaeography of

[26] R. Raghava Aiyangar has discussed the life and work of Kamban with remarkable ability in *Śeṅ Tamiḻ*, Vol. 3.

the inscriptions of Śaḍaiyan mentioned above, and Kamban's description of the Cōḷa country as belonging to *Tyāgamāvinōdan,* a title which recalls the surname of Vikrama Cōḷa[27], are fairly conclusive on the point. The distinct echoes of the *Śīvaka-śindāmaṇi* in Kamban's great work constitute, in the light of the date assigned to the former poem, another circumstance confirming the date thus suggested for Kamban.

Besides the *Rāmāyaṇam,* Kamban is said to have been the author of the *Ēreḻupadu,* and *Śaḍagōparandādi,* as also of a *Mummaṇik-kōvai* (not now extant) which gave rise to an attack on Kamban's verse by Vāṇiyan Tādan. The *Ēreḻupadu* together with the *Tirukkai vaḻakkam* is a eulogium on agriculture and the cultivator class, the Veḷḷāḷas. When the poem was being published in an assembly, Cēdirāyan, the son of Śaḍaiyan, was bitten by a poisonous snake and died; he was restored to life by a couple of *veṇbās* composed by the poet for the purpose. The *andādi* had to be composed by Kamban to please the god of Śrīrangam before whom approval was sought by the poet for his *Rāmāyaṇa* and who made it a condition that Kamban should praise his beloved devotee Śaṭhakōpa in a centum of verses. In view of the

[27] Maruttumalaip-paḍalam, 58. There are two traditional verses on Kamban's date, one apparently giving Ś. 807 and the other Ś. 1100. The former seems to accord with a vague legend that the *Rāmāyaṇam* was published in the Śrirangam temple under the presidency of Nāthamuni, (*Śen Tamiḻ,* xxv, pp. 308–9). But this fact is not mentioned in the *Divyasūricarita* or the *Guruparamparā.* R. Raghava Aiyangar ingeniously suggests that the date usually taken as 807 is really 107 with an omitted thousand i.e., 1107 (*Śen Tamiḻ,* iii, p. 179), and thus reconciles the two verses.

tendency, common in Indian literature, of fathering minor works of unknown origin upon celebrated authors, and in view of the mediocre and commonplace character of these two works, we have to receive with great suspicion the popular legends on their authorship and the occasions for their composition.

Pugaḻēndi.

Pugaḻēndi is held by a persistent tradition to have been a contemporary of Oṭṭakkūttan; a native of Kaḷandai in the Toṇḍai-nāḍ, he sought a career in the Pāṇḍyan court; later, he went over to the Cōḷa court when the Cōḷa ruler espoused a Pāṇḍyan princess. There he roused the jealousy of Kūttan, and their intrigues against each other brought discord into the royal household. Finally, the differences between the poets were made up by the king's intercession and they began to live in peace and friendship. This pretty story has no apparent claim to our credence. Again the *Toṇḍai-maṇḍala-śatakam* states that Pugaḻēndi composed a *Kalambakam,* a eulogium in various metres, on Koṟṟandai, the chief of Jiñji (*Śeñjiyar kōn*); if we accept the tradition that Oṭṭakūttan and Pugaḻēndi were contemporaries, this chief of Jiñji may have been no other than the one mentioned in the *Vikramaśōḻan-ulā*[28], but this is doubtful. Pugaḻēndi is, however, best known by his *Naḷaveṇbā,* a poem narrating the story of Naḷa in about four hundred stanzas in the *veṇbā* metre. The *veṇbā* is to Tamil what the *anuṣṭhup* is to the Sanskrit language, a simple and flexible medium capable of producing great results in the hands of a

[28] *ante* p. 69. *Śen Tamiḻ*, ii, 393 ff.

great poet. And Pugaḻēndi's *veṇbās* are indeed of high quality; and the popularity of the theme he handled gained great currency for them. Other works with little or no claim to literary merit have often been fathered on Pugaḻēndi; the tendency is partly explained by the easy style of the *Naḷaveṇbā* which has made Pugaḻēndi popular; but there is nothing in common between the fine poetry of the *Naḷaveṇbā* and the miserable doggerels attributed to him by an ignorant popular tradition. The age of Pugaḻēndi cannot be established by any tangible evidence, as his references to Candiran Suvarkki of Muraṇai-nagar in Maḻḻuvanāḍu cannot yet be related to the inscriptions; the echoes of the ideas and even phrases of Kamban in his poem are sufficiently striking to give plausibility to the view that Pugaḻēndi could not have preceded that great poet.

Two *kōvais.*

The *Kulōttungan-kōvai* and the *Tañjai-vāṇan-kōvai* deserve to be mentioned as among the best known works of secular literature belonging to the late Cōḷa period. The first, as we have seen, is a *Kōvai* on Kumāra Kulōttunga who may be tentatively identified with Kulōttunga III. Little is known of the author, and the poem has no conspicuous merit except that it centres round a great Cōḷa ruler and contains passing allusions to some of his achievements in war. The *kōvai,* like the *ulā,* is a peace poem; it purports to deal with the stages in the development of love between a lover and his love from the moment they are thrown together by accident; in portraying each situation, details relating to the birth and achievements

of the hero are worked in by the poet. The *Tañjai-vāṇan-kōvai* falls almost outside the period of Cōḷa supremacy. After the *Tiruk-kōvaiyār* of Māṇikka-vāśagar, this is the most popular among the poems of this type. The author, Poyyā-moḻi Pulavar, may have been a native of Vañji, as the name Vañji-Poyyāmoḻi indicates. He seems to have lived for some time in Tiruccengāṭṭanguḍi, Tuṟaiyūr and Madura; he is said to have finally betaken himself to Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam, but another tradition affirms that the poet burnt himself to death on the funeral pyre of his patron Śīnakkan of Araiśūr[29] The Vāṇan of Tañjai, the hero of the *Kōvai,* is reputed to have been the minister of the Pāṇḍya king and chieftain of Tañjākkūr in Māṟanāḍu near Madura. He is described in the *Kōvai*[30] as 'the eye of the Pāṇḍya who conquered the *malai-nāḍu.*' This must be a reference to Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara I (1260-1308 A. D.). This inference gains strength from another fact. The *Kōvai* illustrates systematically the rules of the *Nambi-Ahapporuḷ,* which mentions Kulaśēkhara as the king in whose reign it was composed and published[31].

Śēkkiḻār.

The *Periya Purāṇam* of Śēkkiḻār and the *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* of Perum-baṟṟap-puliyūr Nambi are two works

[29]The story is told that the poet once fell asleep on the bed of his patron and that Śīnakkan's queen, not knowing this, also slept on the same bed for some time; when Śīnakkan himself turned up and saw what had happened, the poet felt miserable though his patron did not mistake him in the least.

[30]Verse 18.

[31]The commentary which gives this fact is coeval with its text and by the same author. *Śen Tamiḻ,* v. p. 544.

of high literary quality dealing with Śaiva hagiology and legends, and these may be briefly considered before taking up the purely devotional literature of the age. Of the composition of the *Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam* or the *Periya Purāṇam* we have a graphic account by Umāpati Śivācārya, *c.* A.D. 1313. In his *Śēkkiḻār Nāyanār Purāṇam,* this illustrious Śaiva *ācārya* narrates the life of Śēkkiḻār, and this work in spite of its name, is unique for its historical and biographical interest. Umāpati came in the main line of Śaiva tradition and lived in an age when the memory of the great Cōḷa rulers and their achievements was still fresh; he must have had access to much authentic information, and it is to his uncommon historical sense that we owe this life of Śēkkiḻār; and another work of Umāpati, which though necessarily less authentic in its details relating to a much earlier time, is the *Tirumuṟai-kaṇḍa-purāṇam,* on the work of Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi, of which some account has already been given.

Śēkkiḻār was born at Kunṟattūr in Kunṟai-vaḷanāḍu, a subdivision of Puliyūrk-kōṭṭam in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. He is also called Śēvai-kāvalar and Gangai-kula-tilaka. He was a Veḷḷāḷa by caste; he sought an official career under the Cōḷa government, rose to a high rank and earned the title *Uttamaśōḻa-Pallavan.* He was devoted to the deity of Tirunāgēśvaram and evinced his devotion by building in his native town of Kunṟattur a Śiva temple closely modelled on that of Tirunāgēśvaram.

His deeply religious nature was roused to protest against the way in which the *Śīvakaśindāmaṇi*, the impious work of a heretical Jaina, was being read, admired and enjoyed in the Court of the Cōḷa monarch; he held that to spend time on such a book was to waste the opportunities of this life and to imperil the life hereafter, and exhorted the king to turn instead to the lives of the Śaiva saints sketched by Sundaramūrtti in his *Tiruttoṇḍattogai* and elaborated by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi. The king then commanded Śēkkiḻār to expound the life-stories of the Saints, and being greatly attracted by the theme, he desired Śēkkiḻār to write down the lives in extenso in a great poem, and gave him much wealth to enable him to undertake the task. Śēkkiḻār then retired to Cidambaram, and with his mind filled with divine grace—there was a voice commanding him to begin the work with the words *Ulagelām*,—he began to compose the *Tiruttoṇḍar-Purāṇam* in the beautiful 1000 pillared maṇḍapa within the precincts of the temple. Messengers went to the Cōḷa monarch and reported the progress of the work from time to time until it reached completion with a total of 4253 stanzas. Then the king himself came to Cidambaram; again a voice, accompanied by the tinklings of an anklet, commanded the king to listen with attention to the great work of Śēkkiḻār, and there followed the formal publication of the work when Śēkkiḻār expounded it from day to day for a whole year; the work was universally hailed as a veritable fifth Veda in Tamil and immediately took its place as the twelfth book in the Śaiva canon.

The author was honoured with the title *Toṇḍar-śīr-paravuvār,* the singer of the glories of saints, adorned with the crown of knowledge (*ñānamuḍi*) and saluted by everyone present including the Cōḷa monarch. Umāpati's poem must be read in the original for one to realise the gusto with which that author celebrates this epoch-making event in the history of South Indian Śaivism.

The *Periya-Purāṇam* has influenced the lives and thoughts of the Tamil Śaiva population almost incessantly from the date of its composition. It has certainly thrown into the shade, at least in popular estimation, many another work of pure literature, not suffused with the didactic and religious purpose that pervades this Purāṇam. And to this day there are thousands of Tamils who accept the legends embalmed in Śēkkiḻār's melodious verse as literally and historically true. To us the significance of this work lies in the rank it takes among the masterpieces of Tamil literature and in the picture it gives of the heroic age of Tamil Śaivism as it was visualised by one of the most talented and deeply religious seers of the Tamil land. In every way, it is a composition that worthily commemorates the great age of the Imperial Cōḷas and their sustained devotion to Śaivism.

Śēkkiḻār himself tells us that his work was composed to please the *sabhā* of the Cōḷa monarch Anapāya who covered the Pērambalam with fine gold[32],

[32] Mēya-vivvurai koṇḍu virumbumāñ-
jēyavanṟirup-pērambalañ-jeyya
tūya ponnaṇi śōḻaniḍūḻipā-
rāya śīr-anapāyan-araśavai—*Pāyiram*, 8.

and we know that this description fits only Kulōttunga II. It may be noted, however, that the name Śēkkiḻār occurs as that of an official of the revenue department as early as A.D. 1093 in the reign of Kulōttunga I[33]. If this official was of the same family as the great poet, the latter must be taken to have come of a family which had distinguished itself for some generations in the service of the state. Umāpati Śivācārya states that Śēkkiḻār had a younger brother Pālaṟāvāyar, and it seems most probable that it is he that is mentioned in an early inscription of the reign of Kulōttunga II[34] under the name Śēkkiḻār Pālaṟāvāyar Kaḷappāḷarāyan of Kunṟattūr. It may be noted in passing that Śēkkiḻār was a family name, a fact which strengthens the identifications proposed here: *Kunṟattūrir-Cēkkiḻār tiru-marapu śiṟandadanṟē* (Umāpati). Another member of the family, Śēkkiḻān Ammaiyappan Parāntakadēvan *alias* Karikālaśōḻa Pallavarāyan, made a gift at Tirukkaḍaiyūr in the Tanjore district in 1182[35].

Nambi's *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal.*

The *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* of Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr-nambi is the earliest Tamil version we possess of the legends centring round Madura and describing the sixty-four miraculous sports of Śiva. The author was a Brahmin born at Śelli-nagar, now Panaiyūr, near Kari-valamvanda-nallūr in the Tinnevelly district. He composed his work at the request of the

[33] 180 of 1894.
[34] 445 of 1912.
[35] 39 of 1906.

contemporary Pāṇḍya king and was richly rewarded by him for his effort.) His spiritual *guru* was a certain Vināyaka who belonged to Māḷigaimaḍam in Cidambaram, and the name of Cidambaram seems to be prefixed to his own name either to indicate the fact that he had his initiation there or more generally to mark his devotion to Naṭarāja, the presiding deity of the place. It has been pointed out that in A.D. 1227 a member of our author's family, Ānandatāṇḍavanambi or his wife, erected a *gōpura* in Madura. This may be taken to furnish a rough indication of the age of our author also; but the exact chronological relation between our author and Ānandatāṇḍavanambi cannot yet be settled[36].

A much later version of the 'sacred sports' by Parañjōti held the field, and the earlier work of Nambi had almost been lost sight of till it was recovered, like many another classic, by that prince of modern Tamil scholars, Svāminātha Aiyar. Nambi's work differs in many important respects from Parañjōti's, particularly in the names of the Pāṇḍyan kings in whose time particular miracles are believed to have occurred. The fictitious list of successive rulers inheriting the throne for sixty-four generations from father to son, found in the *Hālāsya-māhātmya* and in Parañjōti, is unknown to Nambi, who names in all only less than ten kings. The order in which the sports are narrated also differs; there are besides many other minor differences all of which have

[36]For more details see introduction to V. Svaminatha Aiyar's edition of the work. Note, however, that 133 of 1908, (A.D. 1304), mentions either our author or a namesake of his.

been carefully noted by the learned editor of Nambi's Purāṇam. Authors who rush to deduce history from legend will do well to note the warning furnished by a study of these two versions.

Religious Literature.

To turn now to the purely religious literature of the age. The Tamil Śaiva canon owes its present arrangement to Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi who may certainly be assigned to the early eleventh century, if not to the close of the tenth. As has been stated already, Umāpati Śivācārya describes in a short work, *Tiru-muṛai-kaṇḍa-pūraṇam,* the redaction of the Śaiva canon by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi. He states that Nambi, in the first instance arranged the canon in the form of ten books: the first three comprising 384 *padigams* of Tiru-Ñāna-Sambandar, books four to six made up of 307 *padigams* of Tirunāvukkaraśu, 100 *padigams* of Sundara forming the seventh book, the *Tiruvāśagam* of Māṇikkavāśagar being the eighth, and a number of *tiruviśaippās*[37] by nine different authors and the *Tirumandiram* of Tirumūlar forming the last two books. We learn that subsequently the king requested Nambi to put together one more book from the *padigams* left over, including the *pāśuram* uttered by Śiva himself and calculated to procure *siddhi;* Nambi accordingly arranged the eleventh book of the Canon. This

Tirumuṛai.

[37] These contain hymns on the Tanjore temple and on its copy, the temple of Gangai-koṇḍa-Cōḷapuram; this may be taken to give an indication of the date of Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi, if we may be certain that we have this ninth book as Nambi left it.

section, including the compositions of Nambi himself, comprises the works of twelve different authors, two of whom are among the sixty-three saints of Śaivism. The *Periyapurāṇam* counts as the twelfth book. Clearly the arrangement of the books is not chronological; for to give the most striking instance, Tirumūlar was earlier than Sundaramūrtti and is mentioned in the *Tiruttoṇḍattogai;* but the *Tirumandiram* is only the tenth book, whereas Sundaramūrtti's hymns form the seventh.

Among the authors of the ninth Book of the Canon, Gaṇḍarāditya may be definitely identified with the son of Parāntaka I.[38] The attempt to identify Śēndanār with Tirumāḷigaittēvar on the strength of an inscription of the reign of Rājarāja I from Tiruvīḻimiḻalai[39] can hardly be considered satisfactory; the inscription cited does not seem to furnish conclusive proof of the identity, and it seems unlikely that tradition could in this instance have erred so far as to make two authors out of one; for we should not forget that the arrangement of the Canon seems to have reached its present form before the age of Umāpati. Karuvūr-dēvar who has hymns on three Cōḷa temples, the Ādityēśvara at Kaḷaṇḍai, the Rājarājēśvara at Tanjore, and the Gangaikoṇḍacōḷēśvara at Gangaikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram, was as his name indicates a native of Karuvūr, and the legends centring round his name have found a place in the Karuvūr Purāṇam[40]. He may be assigned to the first half of

[38] *ante* i, p. 182.

[39] 449 of 1908, *Śen Tamiḻ*, iii, pp. 358-62.

[40] Ch. 39 vv. 62-80. *Śen Tamiḻ*, iv, pp. 141-145.

the eleventh century A.D. It is possible that Nambi Kāḍa Nambi who has sung two hymns, one each on Tiruvārūr and Kōyil (Cidambaram) was identical with the Ātrēya Nambi Kāḍa Nambi, an *arcaka* mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1050 from Tiruvaiyāṟu[41].

Theology.

Among doctrinal works, the *Śiva-Ñāna-bōdam* of Meykaṇḍār, written in the first half of the thirteenth century A.D.[42], is the first attempt at a systematic statement of the tenets of Tamil Śaivism. This is a short treatise of a dozen aphorisms (*sūtras*) which seem to have been translated from a Sanskrit original[43]; the author has added *vārttikas* of his own which explain and illustrate the argument of each of the *sūtras* and fix their meanings. The name *Śiva-ñāna-bōdam* is explained thus. "Śivam is one; *ñānam* is the knowledge of its true nature; *bōdam* is the realisation of such knowledge[44]"

[41] 221 of 1894.

[42] *Śen Tamiḻ*, iii, pp. 189-90.

[43] Ramaṇa Śāstri says that the original forms part of the Raurava Āgama (*Tirumandiram* Intr. p. 7). The view has often been expressed that the Tamil work is the original and the Sanskrit is the translation. See T. I. Tambyah: *Psalms of a Śaiva Saint*, p. xix. The arguments adduced in support of this position are inconclusive. The Sanskrit work is in *anuṣṭhup* verse like all *āgamas*, corresponds to the Tamiḻ *sūtras*, and does not contain anything corresponding to the Tamiḻ *vārttikas*. Both Umāpatiśiva, author of the Pauṣkarabhāṣya and Śivāgrayōgi held the view that the Sanskrit work is the original. cf. V. P. Kāntimatinātha Pillai, *Tamiḻ-civa-ñāna-bodac-ciṟappu* (1926) pp. 54, 59. Vidyāraṇya is said to have written a monistic exposition of the Sanskrit work, *ibid.*, pp. 30, 47. Śiva as *guru* told Māṇikkavāśagar that he held the *Śiva-ñāna-bōdam* in his hand; this may be not so much a daring anachronism antedating the work of Meykaṇḍār as Pope thought (*Tiruvāśagam*, xxii), as the expression of a belief in the antiquity of the Sanskrit work of that name.

[44] "*Śivam onṟu; adanait-tēṟudal ñānam; tērndadanait-teḷidal bōdam*". Kaḍavuḷ-mā-munivar, v. 36 Tirupperunduṟaic-carukkam, Tiruvādavūr-aḍigaḷ Purāṇam.

The scheme of the twelve *sūtras* is simple. The first three *sūtras* assert the existence of the three entities God (*pati*), bondage (*pāśa*) and soul (*paśu*); the three next define and explain their nature and interrelation; the next triad deals with the means (*sādhana*) of release, and the last part is devoted to the nature of release. The key position held by the work of Meykaṇḍār in the literature of Tamil Śaivism is brought out by a verse which says: 'The Veda is the cow; its milk is the true Āgama; the Tamil sung by the Four is the *ghee* extracted from it; and the virtue of the Tamil work of Meykaṇḍān of the celebrated (city of) Veṇṇai is the fine taste of the *ghee*'[45].

The *Bōdam* was preceded by two short works which may be said to stand almost in the relation of text and commentary.[46] These are the *Tiruvundiyār* and *Tirukkaliṟṟuppaḍiyār* by two authors, teacher and disciple according to tradition, and both known by the name or rather title Uyya-vanda-dēvar. They are both works meant to present in an easy style the main aspects of Śaiva doctrine and practice.

After the *Śiva-ñāna-bōdam*, the next work of importance on doctrine is the *Śiva-ñāna-Śittiyār* of Aruṇandi, reputed in tradition to have been first the

[45]Vēdam paśu, adan pāl mey āgamam nālvar
Ōdum Tamiḻ adanin uḷḷūrum ney-pōda migu
Neyyin uṟuśuvaiyām nīḷ Veṇṇai Meykaṇḍān.
Śeyda Tamiḻ nūlin tiṟam.

[46]The *Śaiva-Sittānta Varalāṟu* by Anavaratavinayakam Piḷḷai (Madras, 1908).

guru of Meykaṇḍār's father and then the disciple of Meykaṇḍār himself. Though written in verse, it is a comprehensive statement of the true doctrine (*Supakkam, Svapakṣa*) introduced by a critical discussion of rival systems (*para-pakkam*) of which no fewer than fourteen, including four schools of Buddhism and two of Jainism, are passed under review. This great work, which is, in fact, the classic treatise on Tamil Śaivism, for the work of Meykaṇḍār is too cryptic and fails to explain the position of Śaivism *vis-à-vis* other systems, has been the subject of many commentaries and is to this day the most widely read manual of Śaivism among the Tamils. The *Irupā-virupadhu* by the same writer owes its name to the alternate use of two metres in its twenty verses which expound the doctrine in the form of a dialogue between teacher and pupil. This work is said to have been composed by Aruṇandi to enshrine the memory of his beloved teacher in each of its verses; and so it does.

Another catechism, much the simplest of all manuals on Śaivism, is the *Uṇmai-viḷakkam* by Manavāśagan-gaḍandār of Tiruvadi (South Arcot) who claims that his work makes not the slightest departure from the essence of the Āgamas. Umāpati Śivācārya, who lived at the close of the thirteenth and the early years of the fourteenth century[47], was the author of eight works on the doctrine which complete the tale of the Śaiva Siddhānta Śāstras in Tamil.

[47] We have the Śaka data 1235 in his *Sankaṟpaniṛākaraṇam, pāyiram*, 26.

They are the following:

1. *Śivappirakāśam,* an ambitious treatise, only less important than the *Śiva-ñāna--śittiyār.* One hundred verses.
2. *Tiru-varuṭ-payan* composed on the model of the celebrated *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and comprising ten division of ten *kuṟaḷs* each.
3. *Vinā-veṇbā,* a short catechism of thirteen *Veṇbās.*
4. *Pōṟṟippahroḍai,* a short work of 100 lines.
5. *Koḍikkavi,* a very short exposition in four verses.
6. *Neñjuviḍu-tūtu* adopting the *sandēśa* form which had already found imitators in Tamil.
7. *Uṇmai-neṟi-viḷakkam* devoted to the path of realisation and dealing with 'the ten *kāryas.*'[48]
8. *Sankaṟpa-nirākaraṇam* devoted, like the '*parapakṣa*' of the Śittiyār, to a critique of other creeds. Unlike the earlier work, this is much exercised with the minute differences within the very fold of Śaivism.

[48] These are: tattva rūpam, tattva darśanam and tattva śuddhi, ātma rūpam, ātma darśanam and ātma śuddhi, śiva rūpam, śiva darśanam, śiva-yōgam and śiva-bhōgam. The authorship of this work has been recently ascribed to Tattuvanāthar of Shiyāḷi, and the *Tugaḷaṟubōdam* of Śiṟṟambala-nāḍigaḷ included among the fourteen śāstras on the strength of a fresh study of the mss. of the work. *Śaivasiddhānta Śāttiram* (1934), pp. 980-2. and 1124.

Paucity of Tamil works of Vaiṣṇavism.

It is curious that few works of religious literature seem to have been composed by the Vaiṣṇavas of the Tamil country in this period. It has been pointed out already that the arrangement of the Vaiṣṇava canon proceeded side by side with that of the Śaiva canon in the tenth and early eleventh centuries. There is also ample evidence to show that a succession of great Vaiṣṇava *ācāryas* composed numerous devotional poems and philosophical works in the Sanskrit language in this period; Yāmunācārya, Yādavaprakāśa and Rāmānuja himself are only the leading examples of a large group of authors justly celebrated for their learning and devotion and for their literary achievements. Strangely enough, however, Vaiṣṇavism which started as a popular movement of religious reform and revival, appears to have developed in the Cōḷa period a sort of a high-brow attitude and scorned the use of the popular idiom; in fact, the writers of this school developed in course of time a quaint style more Sanskritic than Tamil in its make-up which is seen at its best in the great commentaries of Periya-vāccān Piḷḷai and Nambiḷḷai. Among the works composed in this style of writing, one of the earliest is the short commentary, the *Āṟāyirappaḍi*, on Nammāḻvār's *Tiruvāymoḻi*, by Kurugaippirān Piḷḷān, a relative and disciple of Rāmānuja.

Rāmānuja-nūṟṟandādi.

There is, however, one poem which deserves mention if only because it is one of the few exceptions to the general rule followed by the Vaiṣṇava authors of

the age. It is the *Rāmānuja-nūṟṟandādi,* a century of verses in the *Kalitturai* metre in praise of Rāmānuja by his disciple Tiruvarangattu Amudanār. This poem in a simple devotional style is held in great esteem and is even called *prapanna-gāyatrī* as it is often repeated as a daily prayer. The central idea of the poem is that without the grace of the *guru* there is no way to salvation. The author avows that he has no faith in *tapas*[49], and pronounces a sweeping condemnation on every creed other than Rāmānuja's[50]. Rāmānuja's great and abiding *bhakti, śorāda kādal peruñjuḻi*[51], and his profound attachment to the *Rāmāyaṇa*[52] are specially stressed in the poem. It is not improbable that our author is identical with the Tiruvarangattamudanār of Mūngiṟkuḍi mentioned in an inscription from Tirukkōyilūr of the third year of Kulōttunga II[53].

Grammar, etc.

Grammar, rhetoric and lexicography have always claimed the attention of authors since the beginning of written literature, and striking contributions were made in these departments in the Cōḷa period. The *Yāpparungalam* and *Yāpparungalakkārigai* of Amitasāgara, a Jaina ascetic, were composed sometime towards the close of the tenth century. The correct form of the author's name is Amita-sāgara (the boundless ocean—aḷapparungaḍal)

Amita-Sāgara.

[49] v. 14.

[50] v. 99.

[51] v. 15.

[52] v. 37.

[53] 315 of 1921. *Contra ARE.* 1922, II, 23, where the inscription is assigned to Kulōttunga III.

and not Amṛta-sāgara as it is sometimes written by mistake. The author calls himself a disciple of Guṇasāgara, quotes the *Śūḷāmaṇi* and is quoted by Buddhamitra, the annotator of the *Vīraśōḻiyam*. The text and commentary of the *Vīraśōḻiyam* both date from the reign of Vīrarājēndra. The age of the *Śūḷāmaṇi* is not beyond dispute; it has been ascribed to the latter half of the ninth century[54], but it might well have been some centuries earlier. The *Kārigai* of Amitasāgara soon attained great celebrity and the place where the work was composed came to be known as Kārigai-Kuḷattūr, as may be seen from two inscriptions of the reign of Kulōttunga I, from Nīḍūr[55]. These inscriptions state that an ancestor of Kaṇḍan Mādhavan of Kuḷattūr induced Amitasāgara to come and live in the Śiṟu-Kunṟanāḍu of the Jayangoṇḍaśōḻa-maṇḍalam; if this name was current in Amitasāgara's time, the composition of these two works on *Yāppu* must have been later than the last years of Rājarāja I who assumed the title Jayangoṇḍa-śōḻa towards the close of his reign.

The *Yāpparungalam* is a treatise on prosody of which the *Kārigai* is an abridgement. It is unique in its range and it offers an exhaustive treatment of the variety of metres in Tamil; it is even more valuable for the fine commentary to which it has

[54] *Śen Tamiḻ*, v. pp. 99-102.

[55] 534 and 535 of 1921; K. V. S. Aiyar who edits these inscriptions, *EI*. xviii No. 8, falls into a number of errors which have been corrected by M. Raghava Aiyangar in *JIH*. I may add that I am unable to accept the identity of Guṇasāgara, the *guru* of Amita Sāgara, with the Guṇasāgara of the Kaḻugumalai inscriptions with no more evidence than the identity of a name so common among Jain ascetics.

given rise. A large number of literary specimens otherwise unknown have been preserved in this commentary. The same observation holds good of the commentary on the *Kārigai* by Guṇasāgara, who is believed to have been a disciple of Amitasāgara the pupil taking the name of his *guru's guru.*

Buddhamitra.

The *Vīraśōḻiyam* of Buddhamitra, and its commentary by Perundēvanār, a pupil of the author, next claim our attention. The Cōḷa monarch Vīrarājēndra is mentioned by name as a great Tamil scholar[56]; this fact and the name of the work leave no doubt that it was composed in Vīrarājēndra's reign. The commentary cites the *tiru manni vaḷara* introduction of Rājēndra I[57] and mentions the battles of Koppam[58] and Kūḍal-śangamam[59]. Buddhamitra is called 'the ruler of Ponpaṟṟi', in the *pāyiram* or preface to his work; Ponpaṟṟi may be the same as Ponpetti in the Tanjore district[60], and the title of Buddhamitra may imply that he got an assignment on the revenues of the place from the Cōḷa ruler. The *Vīraśōḻiyam* is written in Kalitturai metre and planned on the basis of a synthesis between the Tamil and Sanskrit systems of grammar and rhetoric and comprises the usual five sections: Sandhi (*eḻuttu*), Śol, Poruḷ, Yāppu and Alankāra (*aṇi*). The author's

[56]mēviya veṇkuḍaic-cembiyan Vīrarājēndiran-ṟan
nāviyal śendamiḻ-collin moḻi" *Śandi* verse 7.
[57]Yāppu 19.
[58]Yāppu 34.
[59]Alaṅgāram 39.
[60]*ARE*. 1899, paragraph 50.

preference for Sanskrit titles is seen in the names of the first and last sections, while the names and order of the sections show even more clearly his partiality for the Sanskrit system. The work is full of interest for a student of the history of grammatical theory in Tamil.

Daṇḍiyalan-gāram.

The *Daṇḍiyalangāram* is the only work devoted entirely to a discussion of *alaṅkāra,* or *aṇi* as it is called in Tamil. The name of the work is justified by its closely following the model of Daṇḍi's *Kāvyādarśa,* being in fact a more or less close rendering of it in Tamil. The name of the author and the details of his life and age have disappeared altogether. There is a verse of unknown age which states that the author was the son of Ambikāpati, and was himself called Daṇḍi, that he attained eminence in Sanskrit and Tamil learning, expounding *alaṅkāra* on the lines laid down by Sanskrit rhetoricians. The great poet Kamban is reputed to have had a son Ambikāpati by name, and it is sometimes held that our author was the grandson of Kamban. One of the earliest references to the *Daṇḍiyalangāram* is that by Aḍiyārkkunallār, in his celebrated commentary on the *Śilappadikāram.* The work was also apparently called *Aṇiyiyal,*[61] *Aṇiyilakkaṇam* and *Aṇiyadigāram.* It is composed in *sūtra* style and, like the *Kāvyādarśa,* it treats of the nature of poetry and kāvya, and of figures of speech under two generic heads—arthālankāra (*Poruḷaṇi*) and

[61]Not all the citations of Aḍiyārkkunallār from this work could be traced in the current editions of the *Daṇḍiyalangāram.*

śabdālankāra (*śollaṇi*). The author of the *Prayōga-vivēkam,* writing sometime in the eighteenth century, says that the author of the *Daṇḍiyalangāram* annotated the *sūtras* and illustrated them himself. This seems probable, and it is interesting to note that some of the illustrative stanzas are in praise of Anapāya Cōḷa.[62]

Nēminādam. The *Nēminādam* of Guṇavīrapaṇḍita is a short treatise comprising less than 100 verses in the *Veṇbā* metre and treating of the orthographs and parts of speech (*eḻuttu* and *śol*) of the Tamil language. The work takes its name from the *tīrthankara* Nēminātha of South Mylapore, Ten-mayilāpuri[63]. The author was a Jain, and pupil of Vaccaṇandi (Vajranandi) of Kaḷandai, possibly the the same place as that of Pugaḻēndi. Another work of Guṇavīra on prosody is called *Veṇbāppāṭṭiyal,* also *Vaccaṇandi-mālai,* the garland of Vaccaṇandi, after the author's *guru.* From the preface to the *Vaccaṇan-di-mālai* we learn that the author's literary activity fell in the reign of Tribhuvana-dēva, no doubt identical with Tribhuvana-vīradēva of the inscriptions, i.e. Kulōttunga III. If this view is correct, Nēmināthar, who according to tradition recorded in a recent compilation, the *Tamiḻ-nāvalar-caritai,* was a contemporary of Oṭṭakkūttan, might not be identical with our author.

[62] See Preface to *Daṇḍiyalangāram* ed. Arumugam Śērvai (1920).
[63] *Nannūl-Maylainādarurai,* p. xvii.

Nannūl.

The *Nannūl* (Good Book) by Pavaṇandi, again a Jain author, is another work composed in the reign of Kulōttunga III. By its simplicity and terseness, the book has practically displaced all other works as the beginner's handbook of Tamil grammar. The author was patronised by Amarābharaṇan Śīyagangan, a feudatory of Kulōttunga III. The *Nannūl* treats only of *eḻuttu* and *śol,* and it is not clear if the author stopped there, or if the rest of his work has been lost.

Ahapporuḷ of Nambi.

The *Nambiyahapporuḷ* of Nāṟkavirājanambi is the last work that falls to be noticed here. Tamil literature divides its subject matter into two great divisions *Puṟam* and *Ahum,* literally 'external' and 'internal', almost corresponding to the philosophical distinction between 'objective' and 'subjective.' The *ahapporuḷ* generally resolves itself into a minute analysis of subjective reactions to erotic situations, though this by no means exhausts the content of this division. It has been pointed out already that this work was composed in the reign of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara I and that it has been systematically illustrated in the *Tañjai-Vāṇan-Kōvai.*

Lexicography.

The *Pingalandai* and the *Cūḍāmaṇi* are two lexicons that may be assigned to the Cōḷa period with great probability. The *Cūḍāmaṇi* or the *Nigaṇṭu-Cūḍāmaṇi* as the author, Maṇḍala-Puruṣa, seems to have designated his work, distinctly mentions the *Kārigai* of Amitasāgara in giving the different senses in which that word is applied; the *Cūḍāmaṇi* must therefore have been

composed after the Yāpparungalakkārigai; how long after it is not easy to decide.[64] The two lexicons mark progressive stages in the advancement of lexicography in Tamil. It should be noted that if the *Pingalandai* was, as its *pāyiram* states, composed by the son of the author of the earliest Tamil *nigaṇḍu* known, the *Śēndan-Divākaram,* and if those are right that assign a very high antiquity to the *Divākaram,* the *Pingalandai* must be taken also to belong to the age anterior to the rise of the Vijayālaya line of kings[65].

Commentaries.

Some of the great commentators must have no doubt flourished in the centuries of Cōḷa rule, but it is difficult to point to definite data bearing on the age of these writers. On the other hand no systematic effort has yet been made to settle the chronological relations among these authors. Iḷampūraṇar, often mentioned as *aḍigaḷ* because he was an ascetic, was no doubt among the earliest of them; he cites the *Divākaram,* and his commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam* is a model of terse and critical elucidation of a difficult text. Śēnāvaraiyar, Pērāśiriyar and Naccinārkkiniyar followed him, and they often cite his views if not always by his name. Except his name and the fact that he composed a commentary on the *Śolladigāram* of Tolkāppiyam, we know nothing of Śēnāvaraiyar at present; even the name is doubtful, for Śēnāvaraiyar is said to have

[64] If Kṛṣṇa Rāya mentioned in St. 10 of the ninth section refers to the Vijayanagar ruler, the work must be taken to fall outside the period covered in this chapter.

[65] For further details see S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, Introd. to *Tamil Lexicon*, p. xxvi.

been the name of a caste, by Mayilai-nāthar, in his commentary on the *Nannūl.* The commentary of Pērāśiriyar is again accessible only for parts of the *Poruḷadigāram,* the work once believed to be his having turned out to be by another hand, Deyvaccilaiyār. Pērāśiriyar also wrote a gloss on the *Tiruccirrambalakkōvaiyār*[65a]. He is referred to in terms of very high regard by the commentator of the *Yāpparungalam*; the attempt[66] to identify him, on that account, with *Iraiyanār,* the mysterious author of the *Kaḷaviyal,* is rather misplaced. Aḍiyārkkunallār who cites the poets of this period, like Jayangoṇḍār and Kūttan, rather freely in his commentary on the *Śilappadikāram,* and Parimēlaḷagar who is criticised by Naccinārkkiniyar[67] may also have belonged to our period. Parimēlaḷagar wrote excellent commentaries on the *Tirukkuṛal* and *Paripādal.*

Sanskrit Literature.

If the literary chronology of Tamil is replete with many unsolved problems, the situation is even worse with regard to Sanskrit literature. We have ample evidence from all sides that Sanskrit learning and literary activity in its various branches found steady encouragement and flourished at a high level throughout the period of our study; attention has been drawn elsewhere to the endowments for colleges where different branches of Vedic and philosophic study were pursued, and to the popularity of the Prābhākara-mīmāmsā

[65a] Some hold that there were two authors of the same name.

[66] *Yāpparungalam* ed. Bhavanandam Pillai, pp. iv-v.

[67] *Paripāḍal* Introdn. p. xxi.

and of the Rūpāvatāra attested by the inscriptions. A detailed account of Sanskrit literature in this period cannot yet be undertaken, for those preliminary researches are yet to be made without which a general survey of literary activity over two or three centuries can hardly be attempted. But attention may be drawn here to one or two significant facts. First, we have some evidence to show that the Cōḷa monarchs took a personal interest in the growth and spread of Sanskrit studies; from the introductory verses in the Sanskrit lexicon *Nānārthārṇava-saṃkṣepa,* we learn that a village of Śaiva Brahmins learned in Sanskrit lore was established in the Cōḷa country by Kulōttunga I, that from that village a certain Kēśavasvāmin of the Vatsa gotra, a member of a family of hereditary grammarians, was in the service of Rājarāja II, and that he was commissioned by the king to prepare, for the use of young scholars, this Sanskrit lexicon in which the words are arranged in alphabetical order and their various meanings set forth, as directed by the king himself.[67a] A more important instance of royal patronage of Sanskrit learning belongs to a much earlier period. It is this. Mādhava, the son of Venkaṭārya and Sundarī, lived in a village on the south bank of the Kāvēri, and composed an extensive *bhāṣya* on the Ṛg-vēda. He says that while writing his great work, he lived in comfort in

Ṛg-Vēda Bhāṣya of Venkaṭa Mādhava.

[67a] *Nānārthārṇava-saṃkṣepa,* Triv. Sans. Series No. 23, 29 and 31—vv. 1–20 at the beginning.

the country of the most renowned warrior of the world: *Jagatām ekavīrasya viṣaye nivasan sukham*[68]. This statement implies that he flourished under royal patronage; and though he does not mention the name of his patron monarch, we may surmise that the reference is to Parāntaka I who is said in the Kanyākumāri inscription of Vīrarājēndra to have earned for himself the name Vīra-Cōḍa by conquering the invincible Kṛṣṇarāja[69]. The great Vēdabhāṣyas of a later age composed under the patronage of the early Vijayanagar rulers would thus seem to have followed the model set by the first great ruler among the Imperial Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line.

[68] *Proceedings of the Fifth (All India) Oriental Conference*, pp. 263 ff.

[69] Ante i, p. 157.

CORRIGENDA.

Page.	*Line.*	*For*	*Read.*
85	24	Śiṟuḍaiyāḷ	Śōṟuḍaiyāḷ
275	15	-naṟaiyūr	-nāraiyūr
290	1	thirteenth	thirtieth
313	16	oppresive	oppressive
364	22	fisherman	fishermen
365	6	descendents	descendants
476	10	Attūr	Allūr
505	4	*delete* 'the'	
509	1	my	may
538 *n.* 43.	8	Pauṣkarabhāṣya	Pauṣkarabhāṣya,
541	7	division	divisions
544	4	Buddhamitra	Perundēvanār